7 DAY BOOK
This book may be kept for 7 days only
It cannot be renewed
107 A2

272.05 W-86 19792
Woodstock Letters
v.82 (1953)
Palmer

272.05 W-86 19792

FUSZ MEMORIAL
M.O. PROV. S.J.
3700 W. PINE
ST. LOUIS, MO.
LIBRARY

272.05
W-86

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2015

https://archive.org/details/woodstockletters8221unse

ARCA SEMINARII PHILOS. LIB. PROV. MO. S.J.

THE WOODSTOCK LETTERS

VOL. LXXXII, No. 2 MAY, 1953

CONTENTS FOR MAY, 1953

ST. JOSEPH'S UNIVERSITY OF BEIRUT 99
Charles Chamussy

MODERN XAVIERS IN JAPAN 110
George Minamiki

FATHER HENRY HARRISON 118
Robert A. Parsons

SOCIAL EXPERIMENT ON THE PARANA 148
F. Rawle Haig

HISTORICAL NOTES

Archaeology Serves History 156

OBITUARY

Father John A. Morgan 171
Father Francis X. Bimanski 177

BOOKS OF INTEREST TO OURS

Christ as Prophet and King (Fernan) 181
The Fire of Francis Xavier (McGratty) 182
Saints for Now (Luce) 183
Sea of Glory (Thornton) 184
Listen Sister: Thoughts for Nuns (Moffat) 185
The Theory of Transfinite Numbers in the Light of the Notion of Potency (Elliot) 187
The Christmas Book (Weiser) 190
Practice: A Pool of Teaching Experience (Knoepfle) 191
Be Not Solicitous. (Ward) 191

CONTRIBUTORS

Father Charles Chamussy (Lyons Province) is the Father Rector at St. Joseph's University of Beirut in Lebanon.

Father Daniel J. Hourigan (Province of Upper Canada) is Professor of sacred scripture at Jesuit Seminary, Toronto, Ont.

Father Robert A. Parsons (Maryland Province) is Professor of philosophy at Georgetown University, Washington, D. C.

Mr. George H. Minamiki (California Province) is in second year of theology at Alma College, Los Gatos, Calif.

Father Frederick G. Geheb (Chicago Province) teaches at St. Ignatius High School, Chicago, Ill.

Mr. Francis R. Haig (Maryland Province) is in his third year of philosophy at Bellarmine College, Plattsburg, N. Y.

Father J. Harding Fisher (New York Province) is Spiritual Father at Woodstock College, Woodstock, Md.

* * *

Note to Contributors

It would be well when submitting contributions to the WOODSTOCK LETTERS to observe the following: type *triple* space, leaving a one-inch margin on either side of the page, i.e., approximately sixty spaces to a line. This will aid greatly in determining ahead of time the length of articles submitted to us, and leaves sufficient room for the insertion of printing directions. Subheadings should also be used, at least one to every other page, in articles and Historical Notes. Pictures, fairly large and clear, should accompany obituaries and other articles, as far as possible; these will, of course, be returned to the contributor.

* * *

For Jesuit Use Only

Published four times a year, in February, May, July and November.

Entered as second-class matter December 1, 1942, at the post office at Woodstock, Maryland, under the Act of March 3, 1879. Subscription: Five Dollars Yearly

WOODSTOCK COLLEGE PRESS
WOODSTOCK, MARYLAND

ST. JOSEPH'S UNIVERSITY OF BEIRUT

St. Joseph's University of Beirut, founded in 1875 by the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, has for more than seventy-five years accomplished a cultural and social service on behalf of the youth of Lebanon and the other countries of the Middle East. It possesses a Theological Faculty which directs the studies of its Oriental Seminary, a Faculty of Medicine and Pharmacy, a Law Faculty, an Engineering School, an Institute of Oriental Letters (Middle Eastern languages, literatures and antiquities), a School of Social Service, and a Secondary School. In the Bekâa region it directs an astronomical, seismological and meteorological observatory and two experimental stations at Tanaîl and Ksara for the agricultural development of the country. Its students in all departments at present number approximately three thousand.

Its teaching staff aims especially at forming in the young a social sense and at awakening in them the desire to work for the economic and cultural development of their country.

Several projects, stressing still more this social formation, have actually been drawn up but their accomplishment is hindered by lack of necessary funds. Since Point IV would foster any plan aiding the economic and social progress of lands as yet insufficiently developed, St. Joseph's University with this in mind would request grants for the projects which are set forth in the following reports and whose accomplishment can be assured only by credits advanced under Point IV.

Institute of Oriental Letters

Lebanon, predominantly an agricultural country, has only three or four large factories employing more than five hundred workers. Out of a total population of about 1,300,000, the peasantry numbers 750,000 and city dwellers (in large and small cities) 550,000 approximately. The urban population is roughly divided as follows: 90,000 industrial workers and artisans, 200,000 students at all levels (superior, secondary and primary

---

The Point Four Program, designed to help the people of Africa, Asia, and Latin America to create a better life for themselves by showing them how to conserve and develop their God-given resources, was proposed by President Truman in the fourth point of his 1949 Inaugural Address.

studies), 260,000 merchants, public officials, those engaged in the liberal professions, the banks and the armed forces.

Since Lebanon obtained its political independence, it has embarked on a social reorganization that is still in its beginnings. Certain professions have been given a legal status: lawyers, doctors, engineers, journalists, and others.

A Labor Code has been established, embracing general legislation dating from September 23, 1946 to which were added two previous legislative decrees; a decree of May 4, 1943 referring to working accidents; a decree of May 12, 1943 establishing a minimum wage and family allocations. This code however is as yet very incomplete.

Labor unions have been authorized since 1946. About eighty have been formed (company or workers' unions) but their activity, for want of competent direction, is not national in extent.

It can be said that the dominant attitude is still individualistic; even among the elite there is little social sense and less knowledge of social planning.

There exist at Beirut three centers of social teaching: the American University, the Law School of St. Joseph's University, and the Institute of Oriental Letters.

Instruction at the American University is given in the Department of Sociology under the direction of Professor Baty. It embraces the teaching of sociological theory and principles, social philosophy, human and rural ecology, anthropology, the practical study of social problems, and a school of applied knowledge.

The Law Faculty of St. Joseph's University provides a course in industrial legislation as a partial requirement for the French licentiate. The matter of this course includes both general social legislation and its applications to Lebanon.

The Institute of Oriental Letters prepares its students for a certificate of sociological studies, including the general sociology of the Middle East, ethnology and Lebanese folklore, and Islamic sociology.

The teaching of sociology is at present directed almost exclusively to future magistrates, lawyers or professors. It is not sufficiently extended to the groups able actively to organize the country on a sound social basis. Mention has already been made of the want of social spirit among the leaders of the vari-

ous classes of society as well as of their ignorance of methods and institutions realized in the Occident.

Hence it seems necessary to institute sociological studies more suited to the needs of the country: to provide a solid formation for future directors of social services and professional groups (liberal and industrial professions, banking, and skilled labor), as well as to avert harmful social teachings that are already proposed and threaten to spread.

For this purpose we plan to establish a chair of labor unionism and applied sociology, and to engage as professor an Occidental specialist, in order to train leaders of workers' unions who in their turn will instruct others.

To bring such a specialist and to establish him at Beirut and to provide his salary a grant under Point IV would be necessary.

The Medical School

In Lebanon, from the medical viewpoint, there is to be noted: (1) A bad distribution of doctors. Although there is one doctor for every thirteen hundred inhabitants (one to every thousand is considered normal), they are too numerous in the large cities where they can scarcely find work, while in the country it is often necessary to travel for long distances to find one. This is a result of the inconveniences of village life and of the poverty of the peasants who cannot provide a medical man with enough for a decent livelihood. (2) A serious lack of general hygiene and of preventive medicine. The homes of the workers and peasants are unhealthful; essential sanitary installations are wanting; water used for drinking and domestic purposes is often polluted. Parents frequently lack the most fundamental notions of hygiene and the care of children. Antimalarial measures and the inspection of drinking water and sanitation are still insufficient or nonexistent over large areas of Lebanon and Syria. (3) The need of developing practical instruction in preventive medicine for medical students and student midwives and nurses. The rôle of midwives and nurses is especially important. If it were possible to choose girls of ability and of some education, acquired in the villages, in order to train them as nurses and midwives, they could, at the end of their studies, establish themselves in the mountainous regions more easily than doctors and could render service to the people in general

ARCA SEMINARII PHILOS. LIB.

as teachers of hygiene and the care of children. The government then might be induced to set up posts for visiting nurses, especially in the villages which are without doctors.

To remedy some of these deficiencies requires the intervention of the state, but others could be supplied by medical schools, if they had the trained personnel and technical equipment necessary. If aided financially under Point IV, the Medical School of St. Joseph's University could accomplish progress in the following directions. The practical teaching of hygiene and preventive medicine to medical students requires field transportation of these students—for example, for malarial control, visits to plants for purifying water, group investigation of means to better the hygiene of an unhealthful site. For this purpose we would need a bus able to transport between twenty and thirty persons. Medical students and student-nurses being trained in medico-social investigation go at present in small groups into the slums adjacent to dispensaries already established. This service is completely insufficient for want of personnel. We would need to plan for an extension of this work requiring the services of two additional medico-social workers. The student midwives have established a visiting service to the homes of needy women who come in large numbers to be delivered at the maternity hospital dependent on the Medical School of St. Joseph's University. They give the mothers practical advice for the care of new born and young infants. A midwife or a social worker on a full time basis is needed to direct this service, to draw up a filing system, and to insure regularity in the visits.

Assistance received would be applied not only to provide social services, but especially to assure the education of medical students, and student midwives and nurses in preventive medicine and social hygiene.

Briefly, then, we would request subsidies for the purchase of a bus with a capacity of thirty persons, the salary of two medico-social workers, and the salary of a midwife supervisor.

As a further step we plan to send teams of students in medicine and nursing into the villages to educate the people in hygiene and preventive medicine, to discover contagious diseases often unperceived (tuberculosis and trachoma), and to prescribe the necessary care. Also planned is the establishment of

regular medical circuits and a free consultation service in regions deprived of doctors and too poor to obtain medical care in any other way. Besides the bus, then, this would demand an X-ray truck for lung examinations.

School of Social Studies

The Lebanese School of Social Education aims at forming social workers whose competence and worth will correspond to the social needs of the country. From its inception the School of Social Education has been recognized as an institution of public utility by official decree of the Lebanese Government. In September, 1949 it acquired the right to grant Lebanese state diplomas of social training conferring the official title of social worker. At present it is the only institution of social formation officially recognized in Lebanon, although remaining under private auspices. The teaching of social theory is imparted by a staff recruited from the faculties of law and medicine of St. Joseph's University. Practical training and case work are provided in two Social Centers for the care of mothers and infants which the School has established in two of the poorer quarters of the city, and which also fulfill another urgent need of the country: the instruction and training of young mothers of families. These two Centers offer the following medical services: advice on pre-natal care, on breast-feeding; clinics for maladies of the eye, ear and throat, and for skin diseases; general medical treatment.

An assistant social director is in charge of each Center and several doctors offer their cooperation and services. Each day at the Center there is provided for mothers a regular instruction, accompanied by practical demonstrations, informal talks, a workshop and the showing of educational films. Home visits are a regular feature. A summer camp attached to the Center provides each year a month in the mountains for the children most in need of it.

The School of Social Education and its Social Centers receive no financial grants. Up to the present the gratuitous cooperation of the School's teaching staff has permitted the imparting of a solid social training to the students, but to provide for the present needs of the country the School and its Centers should extend their activities.

For this the following plan has been made for the training of women social workers: to intensify the training of professional social assistants and to increase their number in view of the social work being extended in Lebanon by the newly established Ministry of Social Affairs which now seeks to incorporate into its services a number of graduate female social assistants; to develop at the same time by courses, informal talks, conferences, documented visits and practice tours, the social consciousness of a wider public and to acquaint with social problems the women of tomorrow who will be able to influence the social evolution of the country.

The School of Social Education should, then, set up larger quarters including lecture and demonstration halls; equip a library for study and research in all social fields; organize a social documentation service; provide for the students a film projector for educational purposes; and establish burses to pay the expenses of deserving students of limited means and to cover the expenses of documented visits, practice projects and field trips outside the city.

A plan has also been made for the extension of the Social Centers: to increase the medico-social services. For this the Centers should acquire more and more equipment and modern instruments; to train young mothers by setting up meeting and demonstration halls furnished with working equipment; to prepare girls for their future work by providing courses in housekeeping, the care of children, and domestic hygiene; to set up an emergency fund to aid needy families in case of sickness, unemployment or other accidents; and to increase the facilities of summer camps for the poor by improving the water supply, installing modern kitchens and laundries, thus to permit the better training of the children who benefit by them.

These projects would entail large expenses. To what extent could financial aid be advanced under Point IV to begin their realization?

Engineering School

The Engineering School provides for governments and for large companies, national or foreign, a testing service for various materials: concrete, bricks, asphalt, tiles, electric lamps, and a soil analysis service. The equipment it possesses for these testings is beginning to be insufficient. To the one hun-

dred ton Ansler press we have, should be added a press of five hundred tons. Other equipment is needed to measure the wearing, hardening, and permeability of mortars. We have limited facilities for study of photo-elasticity. Brake testing equipment is also needed in the testing of automobiles. We possess a photometric table and photometers. There is need of a lumenmetric sphere and standards.

Circumstances have provided the Engineering School with a professional staff of outstanding architectural ability: Mr. Joseph Naggear, bridge and road specialist, former Minister of Finances, member of several commissions on urbanism and related questions; Mr. Charles Nehmeh and Mr. Henry Edde, perhaps the best known builders in Lebanon, who have both made studies in housing in Lebanon. Mr. Naggear has specialized in city-housing both in Beirut and in Lebanese vacation centers, and in the development of a style in accord with national traditions. Mr. Charles Nehmeh is the author of two important projects: the establishment of a rest center and a convalescent home on the slopes of Mount Lebanon, and the construction of a model city near Beirut, similar to that of Heliopolis in Egypt, to be named Roosevelt City. Mr. Henry Edde is especially interested in slum clearance projects. He has in mind the investigation and statistical study of unhealthful living quarters and of those who occupy them; a study aimed at the reclassifying of housing facilities on a technical, legislative, economic, and social basis; a study of construction methods for cheap but healthful and comfortable housing. He believes that, by simplifying building processes and by using prefabricated materials, a dwelling could be completed at a cost of about thirteen hundred dollars, which would permit a rental price of about fifty dollars a year.

In addition to the slum clearance projects, these two professors have also undertaken an analysis of building methods used in Lebanon, and their systematic improvement by proper orientation of buildings, heat- and sound-proofing, heating and sanitation ducts, interior room lay-outs, and new types of building material.

At present this research is being carried on in spare time and cannot be widely advertised. Help under Point IV would permit the professors to give more time to these investigations,

to finance publications (secretary, draftsman, printing costs) and to start carrying out their projects.

This laboratory, directed by Mr. Zallum, doctor in industrial chemistry of the University of Bologna, has already done extensive work for local industry, but it needs modern equipment for spectographic, electrolytic, microchemical, and polarographic analyses.

There is need of improved apparatus, such as electric furnaces and drying ovens, microanalytic scales, polarimeter, refractometer, and metalographic microscope.

Sociological Training Tours

Lebanon acquired political independence only recently and hence its social condition is extremely complex. Its agriculture is on a large and small scale; its industry takes the form of handicrafts and incipient industrialization; Lebanon's working class is in process of growth, but is suffering from unemployment (emigration often deprives the country of its best elements). The refugee problem devolves around Assyro-Chaldeans, Armenians, Palestinians. The economy is still feudal in some sections. The labor union movement is in danger of being absorbed by Communism. The situation is highly complex for a small country and urgently requires the formation of leaders conscious of social problems and of solutions already applied in lands longer independent.

The purpose of the sociological training tours of St. Joseph's University is to form each year about thirty young men of ability who, after investigation and personal work, may put at the service of their country a social training of which it has need.

Two encampments were held in Lebanon to render the participants aware of the situation and the needs of their country. These experiences convinced the directors of the need of enlarging the field of activities by putting the campers in contact with industrialized countries. In 1950 the encampment took place in France with work in factories, introduction to centers of social re-education; and in 1951, in Nordic countries with investigations on housing, conditions of life, socal security legislation.

In 1952 St. Joseph's University would like to send thirty

young people to complete their training in the United States of America. His Excellency, Mr. Charles Malik, Minister of Lebanon at Washington, has been informed of this project and intends to investigate its feasibility.

Other similar encampments and tours are planned but they involve a substantial expenditure. It would be regrettable if young men without means could not benefit by such training in the same way as their wealthier companions.

There is no disputing the educational profit and the broadening of view derived by young Orientals from close and sometimes grating contact with the demands of modern life. The welfare of Lebanon requires such training, and for this reason we would request your interest and help in making it available to the largest possible number of young people.

Rural Development

The rural development of Tanaîl-Ksara, directed by Jesuit Fathers of the Middle East in collaboration with St. Joseph's University, is located in the Bekâa Plain region at Chtaura, Lebanon. The Bekâa Plain is the most important agricultural region of Lebanon, but penury here is widespread and brings in its train undernourishment, unhealthful housing (a single room for a whole family), and endemic diseases, especially malaria and typhoid. Such conditions are encouraging a dangerous expansion of Communism.

The causes of this penury are, first, lack of social organization; second and more important, low agricultural yields which prevent the inhabitants from turning their lands to full account. On the other hand, a Communist cell of the Bekâa region was completely destroyed last year by the social amelioration of the workers.

The site of Tanaîl-Ksara was ceded to the Jesuit Fathers in 1860 by the Ottoman government as indemnity for the massacre of four Jesuit missionaries in the Druze revolt of that year. At that time it was an uncultivated marsh where malaria made permanent settlement impossible. The Jesuits drained the swampland and made it into a relatively model farm.

This development constitutes a pilot project for Lebanon. It is important to note that most peasants in the Bekâa region

are insufficiently evolved to profit by teaching. They learn by example and imitate what they see successfully accomplished by others. For ninety years they have been accustomed to come to Tanaîl to see modern occidental methods of agriculture put into practice, in order to apply them to their own lands. Thus they have learned at Tanaîl how to drain marshland, sort out wheat for seeding, employ chemical fertilizers; how to use agricultural machinery, engage in truck gardening, apply European vinicultural methods, and plant orchards.

Consequently, any agricultural advance made at Tanaîl-Ksara had great importance for the whole Bekâa region, because what is done at Tanaîl is gradually introduced elsewhere. Such progress realized at Tanaîl-Ksara will have a greater and more widespread influence than any other teaching project, for the peasants of Bekâa who are quite suspicious, have learned during the last ninety years to trust the Jesuit Fathers.

At present the following types of demonstration could be usefully staged in Tanaîl-Ksara: Scientific cattle feeding, by the construction of silos for winter fodder. The people of Bekâa are now accustomed to feed their cows with chopped up straw, from which they derive a low milk production. They should be taught scientific cattle feeding methods. With silos they could be shown how to increase milk output by better feeding, thus to raise health standards among the children of Bekâa who are now undernourished for want of milk. Modernization of the cattle barn and dairy of Tanaîl would exemplify a model stable and hygenic milk and butter production. The importance of an irrigation project would be to show how water might be found and used effectively to double agricultural yields by making possible two harvests each year. Purchase of modern equipment, especially of a wheat combine (mechanical harvester and thresher), would show how harvesting losses might be avoided. In Bekâa wheat is still threshed on threshing floors by methods used twenty centuries ago. Improving the Ksara wine cellars could teach the wine makers of the Chtaura region (the wine center of Lebanon) how to improve their wines by refrigeration. Improving the tree nurseries of Tanaîl would help reforestation of Lebanon with cedars, pines, eucalyptus, and other trees.

Tanaîl would wish to tranform the orphanage it conducts into an agricultural and trade school. To improve its present setup there are needed workshops for mechanics, carpentry, and electrical training and so forth. A small canning factory could be set up to obtain wider outlets for farm produce, and to train workers in an industry that has an important future in Lebanon: tomato juice, pickle, and fruit canning. The Tanaîl dispensary cares for the sick among the poor of the central Bekâa region (forty-five to fifty thousand patients yearly). Medical consultations and medicines are gratuitous. The increased numbers using this dispensary (sometimes three hundred patients in one day) make necessary better equipped quarters.

If sufficient funds could be advanced to effect these improvements, the Tanaîl-Ksara rural development project would be transformed into an up-to-date model farm that would serve as a practical example for the whole Bekâa region. More than any teaching program this example would be effective in improving agriculture and raising standards of life in the Bekâa, for the people of this region for more than ninety years have been accustomed to imitate what they have seen done at Tanaîl-Ksara.

Such are the projects whose accomplishment would be assured by the generosity of the Administrators of Point IV.

CHARLES CHAMUSSY, S.J.

* * *

Jesuit Novitiates Round The World

The universality of the Society of Jesus is mirrored in its seventy-one novitiates spread round the world. Persecution has closed four of these: in Bohemia, Hungary, Romania, and Czechoslovakia; that of Turin has been temporarily attached to the one in Rome. Mission lands have twelve novitiates: in India there are four; in Africa, two (in the Belgian Congo and Madagascar); Japan, Java, Lebanon, the Philippines, and Tinos, one each; and the refugee Chinese novitiate is now functioning in Manila. Latin America, including Mexico and Cuba, boasts fourteen novitiates. There are eight in the United States; five in Spain and Italy; three in Brazil and Germany; two in Belgium, Canada, and Mexico.

ÉCHOS: August 1952

MODERN XAVIERS IN JAPAN

GEORGE MINAMIKI, S.J.

Our account of the labors of the Modern Xaviers in Japan begins with a passing reference to St. Patrick, and for this we make no apologies. For in Japan, March 17 is the Feast of Finding of the Christians. On this day in 1865, after the doors of Japan were opened for overseas trade by the arguments and cannons of Commodore Perry, a French missioner who was in charge of a chapel for the foreigners in the open port of Nagasaki was accosted by a group of Japanese who asked him three questions: "Are you married? Is Papa-sama in Rome the head of your church? Do you honor Maria-sama?" Thus were the Christians found, these descendants of the first converts of St. Francis Xavier. Without priests, without six of the sacraments, they had kept the faith for over two hundred years. Soon freedom was granted to the Church and a new missionary era opened. The French Fathers began other stations in the islands; then came the Sisters of St. Maur and those of St. Paul de Chartres; after them, the Marianists and the Trappists. But even with the arrival of the Religious of the Sacred Heart and the Dominicans, the Jesuits were yet to make their appearance.

In 1905 Bishop William Henry O'Connell of Portland, Maine, was sent by the Holy Father as special envoy to Japan. On hearing that he was trained by the Jesuits in Boston and that he was friendly to the Society, the Japanese entreated him to send their first missioners back to them; and thus soon afterwards, Pope Pius X assigned to the Society the task of founding a Catholic university in Tokyo.

With the arrival of the three Jesuits, a German, a Frenchman, and an American, Father Rockliff (later provincial of California and first rector of Mt. St. Michael's), the new mission began. For practical purposes the international venture was consigned to the Lower German Province. The First World War, however, interrupted their early efforts. Two years after the Armistice, the Hiroshima Mission was added to the labors of the missionaries. Then the Great Earthquake of Tokyo reduced the school in the capital to a heap of rubble; but with aid coming from the entire Society a new edifice was

built. In 1938 a high school was begun in Kobe at the request of the Bishop of Osaka. Then the Second World War caused heavy incendiary damages on the campus in Tokyo, and in Hiroshima total destruction by the atom bomb blast. But the Mission recovered sufficiently to be made a vice province and a second high school was started near the American Naval Base in Yokosuka. In 1947 the Ordinaries of Japan entrusted to the Society the Inter-Diocesan Seminary of Tokyo, and finally in this fourth centenary (1952) of the death of St. Francis Xavier, the task of erecting a third high school in the atom-bombed district of Hiroshima was committed to the California Province.

With this as a brief overall background, we shall set off on our round of the Jesuit houses with a short visit first to Sophia University, or in Japanese, Jochi Daigaku, which is located near the Imperial Palace in Tokyo. Compared with institutions like Louvain, Fribourg, or Fordham, Sophia can hardly be called a Catholic school. But when one considers that only 150,000 people out of a population of 84 million are Catholic, then the presence of 331 Catholics in a student body of 1142 takes on a more hopeful appearance. Still, statistics alone do not tell the story of the hardships that marked the short history of Sophia: the sacrifices demanded of our students who, because of their faith, were kept out of certain industries; the strictures imposed upon the Fathers by pagan customs which forbade cassocks in the classrooms; the privations forced upon the Belgian Jesuits who were incarcerated during the recent war by the Kempei or Japanese Gestapo; the heroic suffering endured by an eighty year old Japanese Jesuit who was forced by wartime legislation to assume the presidency of the school and to march with the students to the national shrine to bow to the ashes of the war dead.

As a matter of fact, the period after the signing of the surrender in 1945 might be called the real beginning of Sophia. Only after the political and social changes occasioned by the benevolent policy of the former SCAP and General MacArthur, has Sophia been able to develop according to the designs of its founders. Yet we must remember that Sophia, though the most important work of the Society in Japan, is but one among 418 similar colleges and universities in Japan.

Within a short radius of 10 miles there are 5 universities with student enrollment exceeding 10,000. Almost within the shadow of Sophia the Protestants with the backing of influential Americans have begun their inter-denominational post-graduate university with pledged funds amounting to 10 million dollars. Despite these handicaps, earlier this year Sophia was among the small number of 36 universities which were approved as the first and only official Association of Japanese Universities. One of the members of the governmental committee which carried on the work of screening the schools for this Association was a Japanese Jesuit, Father F. X. Oizumi.

However, the real story of Sophia is the story of the men who make Sophia what it is today. We might suggest that you accompany us to the visitors' call room through which each morning the members of the Sophia community pass on their way to their various labors. Breakfast—which here means coffee, a slice of German bread, and if you are lucky some cheese—is no sooner over than Father Herzog is heading for his faithful jeep. Father, besides being a doctor in sociology from Fordham, is also the editor of the Japanese *Reader's Digest* and has to report early to his office. Then appears the inimitable Father Roggendorf. He has time only to give us his greeting and off he goes on his two-cylinder motor bicycle headed for Kyoiku Daigaku, the famous teachers' college, where he has been invited to lecture on English literature. As you see his vehicle disappear in the distance, you would hardly realize that this is the man who organized the Laymen's Theology Course, prepared the first major convention for Catholic educators, and founded two Japanese publications. Perhaps by now you hear loud chatterings at the doorway—the students are waiting for Father F. X. Bosch, a popular figure on the campus, though his is the unenviable position of dean of discipline. He spends much of his time giving talks on ethics and religion to students in outside universities, a feat which is witness to the fact that he talks Japanese like a native. Close upon his heels comes the ever efficient Father Miller from Maryland who with Father Farrell of Chicago organized the coeducational International Division of the University to enable the GI's and other American civilians to continue their Jesuit education in the shadows of the

Jesuit High School and Language School, Yokosuka, Japan

Rokko High School in Kobe, Japan

Korean conflict. Then we meet Father Roggen, head of the Graduate Department. He seems slightly perturbed today, wondering no doubt what effect the talks of one Margaret Sanger are having on the people. Father happens to be the chaplain of the Association of Catholic Doctors. We must meet one other personage. He is no other than Brother Gropper, chief architect of the mission. No house goes up in the Vice Province without his recommendation, and for years the tab, "Gropper-built," has been more reliable than any other trade name on the market. Well, if we should stay a little longer, we would have the pleasure of meeting all the other members of this community, the many Japanese visitors such as the Catholic Chief Justice who come frequently to see the Fathers, and of course the many army and navy chaplains who make Sophia one of their principal rendezvous spots during their stay in the capital. However, we are pressed for time and must bid farewell to the Japanese doorkeeper, Zaimonsan, who by now must be dozing away, his favorite pastime.

After a short ride of two tramway stops we pay a quick visit to the scholasticate, familiarly called "Miki House," dedicated to the Japanese Saint. Except for its Superiors, the house is composed entirely of native Scholastics. There are fifteen of them and some of them have seen action in the last war. In the eyes of the Vice Province they are the real hope of the mission. We would like to become better acquainted with all of them but are forced to decline the kind invitation of Father Keel, the Swiss Minister from the Missouri Province, for our train is due to leave in a few minutes from Tokyo Station.

We are now ready to depart from this capital of six and a half million people. The station platform moves slowly behind us. You must not count on finding an empty seat in the train, especially if you are going third class; and if you do not like crowds, well, you will have to learn to become accustomed to them, for all this pushing, jostling, elbowing is just another reflexion of the plight that eighty-five million people find themselves in, crowded into an area equal to the size of the State of Montana.

Soon the train passes through the harbor city of Yoko-

hama, and then heads in the direction of Yokosuka. A few miles from this American Naval Base we alight from the train at the town of Taura. We are fortunate today, for one of the Spanish Scholastics returning in the jeep from an errand for Father Minister spots us in our Roman collars, and after a short ride of two miles or so we are in full view of Eiko Gakuen, located on the shores of Uraga Strait through which in 1945 the "Mighty Mo" passed for the signing of the surrender. The giant moorings along the concrete piers and the general layout of the plant reveal that this location was formerly a submarine repair base, a fit environment for a Jesuit house. A moment after our arrival we are surrounded by a crowd of Scholastics, thirty-five strong, students at the Language School. After burying themselves all morning under an avalanche of Oriental hieroglyphics, they find any visitor a good reason to tear themselves away from their books. Father Rector Forster of Oregon has seen us from his second story window and soon disentangles us from the crowd to lead us into the refectory for it is almost noon. When you reach table you are struck by the international flavor of the community. One never knows whether he will sit next to a Basque, a Brazilian, a New Yorker, a Hungarian, a Frenchman, or even an Irishman. No less than twenty provinces are represented. The saving features in all this are that English is the house language, that knives and forks are used at table, and of course, the common charity of the Society.

Here, at Eiko, the neo-missioners labor for two years at the language; but to be sure all is not work. On Thursdays many make pilgrimages, so to speak, to pagan shrines and temples of which this territory abounds; on feast days some set off to scale the heights of Mt. Fuji, while others are content to sit through a few hours of Kabuki plays in some Tokyo theatre. After two years of this, that is, of study, they are ready for active service, and that may mean the classroom, the dormitory, or the mission station.

Across from the Language School stands Eiko Jesuit High School. Lunch period is not yet over for the students as the principal, Father Voss, leads us through the rooms. The students take their lunches inside, managing their portion of rice and fish with bamboo chopsticks. No doubt you have noticed how meager their fare is. Perhaps one of them ap-

proaches the teacher asking permission to leave early for the yard since he forgot his lunch box at home. An experienced regent knows that usually this is only another way of saying that mother just did not have enough to go around. Later on in some unembarrassing way he will see to it that the hungry lad has his first real meal in days.

Much as we would like to stay, we must bid farewell to Eiko. Backtracking up the peninsula we head for Nagoya, scene of the labors of the Divine Word Fathers, and then for Kyoto, the city of a thousand temples and headquarters of the Maryknoll Fathers. Here too the Dominicans are busily engaged in the work of the apostolate at their St. Thomas Institute, putting the finishing touches on their translation of the *Summa*. Finally we reach Osaka, the industrial center of Japan and the recent target of the B29's. The entire coast from Osaka to Kobe which was lined formerly with the heavy industrial plants of the Mitsubishi's was battered down by the incessant poundings of the American bombers. But our thoughts are presently interrupted by the rousing cheers we hear in the distance—we are reminded that we are near Nishinomiya Stadium, home of Japanese professional baseball, where fifty thousand enthusiastic fans turned out to see Joe Dimaggio in one of his exhibitions slam "a few" out of the ball park and run jauntily around the bases.

Soon we approach Kobe and we are in full sight of the famous Rokko Mountains. If you know where to look, you can make out the faint outline of the concrete building of Rokko Jesuit High School, the last edifice to go up in this area before the bombing of Pearl Harbor. We have not time to pay them a visit but perhaps you have noticed a few youngsters looking curiously at our Roman collars. If you look at their caps you will know by the insignia that they are some of our Rokko students who ride to school on the train. You can always make them out by their neat uniforms and their short cropped hair. They are typical Kansai boys, much more free and gay than boys elsewhere on the islands—and noisier, too. They are the sons of the soldiers who in the Manchurian war were adjudged the most recalcitrant group in the Japanese army; they are also the boys who during the air attacks of the last war used to tear themselves loose from their mothers to run out of the shelters to watch almost gleefully the beautiful dis-

play of fireworks being dropped by the B29's in their mission of destruction. Suddenly one of the youngsters points to the window and beckons us to look outside, for there is Father Hughes, a New Englander and teacher at Rokko, speeding along the highway on his motorcycle—on his way most likely to administer the sacraments on board a transport heading for the Korean waters.

We leave the boys at Kobe Station and continue on to Himeji and then to Okayama where the Scheut Fathers have their mission stations and where the Notre Dame Sisters recently established their college for women. With our arrival in Okayama we have finally entered the Mission Territory of Hiroshima which includes five Prefectures under the supervision of the Vicar Apostolic, a Japanese Jesuit, Monsignor Ogihara. To one who looks at the missions in terms of working alone in the bush, teaching God's words to superstitious pagans, building his own chapel, and running away from "bright lights and landlords," no better paradise can be imagined. Here the missioner lives in the midst of the Japanese least affected by contact with the West except by way of the atom bomb. All told, there are some six and a half million pagans in this area and, besides the Scheut Fathers, there are only thirty Jesuits distributed among the twenty-three mission stations. One might pause to wonder how the gospel will be brought to all these people through the labors of a mere handful of missioners; but meantime, there is work to be done and there is no time to be given to such disquieting thoughts.

There are only two large churches in this area. One is the Memorial Church of Peace constructed almost on the spot where the Bomb fell. It stands there as the Christian answer as to how true peace can be attained, a monument of salvation and not of destruction. Nearby is located the Novitiate of St. John Goto where fourteen native novices are being trained in the religious life by Father Arrupe, the Basque master of novices. The other church is the Memorial Church of St. Francis Xavier in the City of Yamaguchi and it is here that we shall terminate our journey. Nearby stands a large monument dedicated to Zaberio-sama, as the Japanese call the Basque Saint. This monument was originally built in 1925 by the people of the city to honor the Saint. It consisted of a large cross of granite with the bronze bust of Xavier in the

center and his coat of arms on the back. After the bombing of Pearl Harbor the military confiscated the metal part of the monument for war purposes. But the people of Yamaguchi, though mostly Buddhist, preserved their deep devotion to Zaberio-sama and considered it their duty to restore this memorial. And so after the war when the sacred arm of their Saint was brought to Japan to commemorate the four hundredth anniversary of Xavier's landing on the islands, they took the occasion to build another monument in his honor. Thus, even today Francis Xavier exerts his influence over the people whom he loved so much during his lifetime. We entreat him to continue his care and protection over the Japanese and with this earnest prayer we leave the Modern Xaviers of the Vice Province of Japan, two hundred strong, to continue the work of Zaberio-sama in his favorite mission.

* * *

Roman Breviary for the Society

A Roman Breviary for the use of the Fathers of the Society has recently appeared, beautifully executed on the presses of the pontifical publisher, Marietti. The work, which was spontaneously undertaken by the publisher with Father General's approval, calls for special notice inasmuch as it is the first edition of the Breviary in which the Proper of the Society of Jesus, with its own special feasts and rubrics, has been handily interspersed among the parts of the Breviary common to the whole Church. The book has, besides, a certain elegance and clarity, with suitable repetitions and a convenient arrangement of material, so that the priest is not forced to turn too frequently from one part of the text to another, as he prays.

This report is intended to bring the work to the attention of Ours, and to assure that in some fashion, at least, our gratitude to the courteous and distinguished publisher may be publicly expressed. The Breviary is *not* on sale at the Curia, but at the offices of the publisher.

From MEMORABILIA, S.J.

FATHER HENRY HARRISON

ROBERT A. PARSONS, S.J.

In the will of Peter Dubuc, dated October 14, 1693, we read: "And further I give unto father Smyth, now or late of Talbot County in the Province of Maryland the sum of fifty pounds like silver money."[1] Catholic historians for quite a number of years were much interested in the identity of Father John Smyth, who knew Peter Dubuc so well, and who, as we know by inference, said Mass in Philadelphia earlier than 1693. Martin I. J. Griffin, the editor of the *American Catholic Historical Researches,* was certain that Father John Smyth was an alias for Father Thomas Harvey of the Society, the founder of the New York Mission of the English Jesuits. Father E. I. Devitt was equally convinced that Father John Smyth was Father Henry Harrison of the Society, the assistant of Father Harvey. Father Thomas Hughes in *The History of the Society of Jesus in North America* wrote: "The great character among the Jesuits (in New York) was Fr. John Smith, that is Thomas Harvey."[2] The authority for this statement was the Researches of Martin Griffin, citing the will of Peter Dubuc of October 14, 1693 bequeathing £50 to Father John Smyth.[3]

I think that enough time has elapsed since the controversy of Martin Griffin and Father Devitt to ask the question once more: Was John Smith the alias of Father Thomas Harvey, or of Father Henry Harrison?

At the beginning of this study let us put two dates together, the first found in Brother Henry Foley's *Records of the English Province* and the second in the will of the Franciscan, Richard Hobart of Charles County, Maryland. Foley writes, "In the Catalogue of 1685 Father Thomas Harvey is mentioned as being in the Mission of New York, and in the following year he was declared Superior. In 1696 he went into Maryland and died in the same year, *aet.* 71."[4]

The *Jesuit Relations* give a much fuller picture:

> Governor Thomas Dongan brought with him to New York (1683) an English Jesuit, Fr. Thomas Harvey, and within a year or two, Fr. Henry Harrison and Fr. Charles Gage also were sent thither. The intention of the English authorities was to counteract the

influence exerted on the Indians by the French Jesuits, and to form a village of Catholic Indians under English influence. They also acted as chaplains to the Governor, and for a time maintained a Latin School. This school was to be the nucleus of a Jesuit College in New York, but all their plans failed, on account of the Revolution in England and the consequent usurpation of the New York government by Jacob Leisler (Dec. 1689). These Jesuits were driven from the colony, but Harvey returned in the following year, and continued his position for several years, until broken health compelled him to return to Maryland where he soon after died.[5]

If we now look at the will of the Franciscan, Richard Hobart of Charles County, Maryland, in the year 1698, we notice that he left personalty to the Jesuits, William Robert Brooke, John Hall, Nicholas Gulick, and John Smith, and to his Franciscan confreres, Christopher Plunkett and Thomas Massey and most probably to two other Franciscans that bore the aliases of John Bredd and Thomas Piper.[6] Since Father Hobart's will was probated in 1698, and since Father Harvey had died in 1696, it should be apparent that Father Harvey was not Father John Smith. And, since Father Charles Gage was back in England in 1688 and left the Society in 1693,[7] it should be apparent that the alias Father John Smith fitted the only other Jesuit who was in America at that time, namely Father Henry Harrison. Father Devitt pointed out in his controversy with Martin Griffin that it would be remarkable for Father Harvey to have two aliases, Barton and Smith, and for Father Harrison to have none. Yet for the sake of congruity we can see why Father Harrison should appropriately bear the alias John Smith, because thirty-five years previous in 1650 in England, a namesake, Father Thomas Harrison of the Society, who was judicially murdered at Lancaster Castle,[8] bore the alias John Smith. Father Henry Harrison of the New York Mission in assuming this alias had a patron in heaven to invoke in time of need and trouble. With this fact established, namely that John Smyth of Peter Dubuc's will was in reality Father Henry Harrison, we can readily see how certain contradictory and disconnected facts concerning the New York Mission and Pennsylvania can be harmonized and put in their proper place.

One of the best guarded secrets of the Jesuit Maryland Mission was the work of the Jesuits among the Indian tribes: the Piscataways (Conoys), Conewagos and the Susquehannas

(Conestogas).[9] This Mission, as we shall see, lasted continuously from 1634 to 1644. Then it was allowed to lapse and finally was broken up in the Clayborne and Captain Ingle Rebellion. The Indian tribes on both sides of the Susquehanna were Hurons.

Maryland Mission's Apostolate Among the Indians

There are many references to the Maryland Mission's apostolate among the Indians. A *Jesuit Relation* of 1670 mentions the Conestogas, stating that they were instructed and baptized and that some had been found by Fremin who had been instructed by Maryland Fathers.[10] The "Relation" of Father Andrew White is filled with the apostolic work of the Jesuits among the Indian tribes of Maryland. Father Philip Fisher, alias Thomas Copley, later on followed some of them to their new habitat along the Susquehanna River.[11] Father Pierron from New France in 1674 recognized that the tribes along the Susquehanna River belonged to the English Assistancy.[12] As we shall see, Father Henry Harrison worked among these Indians for almost ten years. At a council held at Conestogue below Lancaster July 8, 1721, Governor Keith warned the Indians not to be deluded by the Jesuits and interpreters.[13] Father Joseph Greaton, the founder of the Pennsylvania Mission, started his missionary work among these Indians, 1726-30.[14] In 1744 Father Richard Molyneux, superior of the Maryland Mission, was present with these Indians as interpreter at the important treaty at Lancaster.[15] Father Thomas Diggs from 1742-1752 was vice-superior in the Indian mission known as Susquenock,[16] a territory of the lower Susquehanna River in Maryland and Pennsylvania, where once the all powerful Susquehanna Indians lived.[17]

The reason why this apostolic work was such a well guarded secret was because the Indian problem in colonial times was explosive politically. The Colonial Archives of Pennsylvania are filled with the meetings between the governors and the various Indian tribes; at one time with delegations of the conquerors, the Five Nations (later, the Six Nations) ; at another time with the conquered, the Susquehannas or Conestogas, the Conoys, and the Delawares. The early archives of Massachusetts, New York, Maryland, and Virginia

show the anxiety of the various governors to placate the Indians on their western borders. For, over all the colonies hung a great fear, the fear of the redman converted to Popery by the Jesuits, ready to take up arms for France and drive the English colonists into the sea, or worse, to subject all good Protestants to the See of Rome.[18] The Five Nations, whose center was at Onondaga, New York, were always in a strong position up to the American Revolution, because they held the balance of power between the English and the French. Officially the Five Nations were under the aegis of the English, but emotionally those nearest the English Colonies were pro-British while those nearest New France were pro-French.[19] The Jesuits in Maryland knew how explosive the entire Indian problem was; consequently they hardly ever advertised the work among the Indians of their assistancy. In fact Father Joseph Mosley at a much later date (1774), writing to his sister in England, said, "Indians? We've ne'er a one in any of our congregations, the law forbids us to meddle with them."[20] Yet from quite a number of facts and a few letters we can get a rather clear picture of the apostolic work of the Jesuits among the Indians, most of it, as we shall see in a locale that is now part of Pennsylvania, along both sides of the Susquehanna River, from the Blue Mountains to the headwaters of the Chesapeake Bay.[21]

When Thomas Dongan was governor of New York, Sir John Werden left him a memorandum: "Touching Susquehanna River or lands abt or trade in it, wch the Indians convey to you or invite you to, we think you will doe well to preserve yr interest there as much as possible that soe nothing more may goe away to Mr. Penn or either New Jerseys."[22]

The Onondaga and Cayuga Sachems on August 2, 1684 spoke to Thomas Dongan:

> Wee have putt all our land and our selfs under the protection of the Great Duke of York, the brother of your great Sachem; we have given the Susquehanna River which we wonn with the sword to this Government and desire that it may be a branch of that great tree that grows here, whose topp reaches to the sunn, under whose branches we shall shelter ourselves from the French or any other people, and our fire burning in your houses and your fire burns with us, and we desire that it may always be so, and will not that any of your Penn's people shall settle upon the Susquehanna River; for our young folks or soldiers are like wolfs in the woods, as your

> Sachem of Virginia know we having no other land to leave our wives and children.[23]

Thomas Dongan said almost the same thing when writing to London:

> Further, if Pennsylvania be continued as by Charter, running five degrees to the Westward it will take in most of the five Nations that lye to the Westward of Albany, and the whole Beaver and Peltry Trade of that Place, the consequence whereof will bee the Depopulation of the Government for the people must follow the trade. Those Indians and the people of this Government have been in continual peace and amity one with another these fifty years.[24]

In this same report Governor Dongan made a distinction between those Indians (the conquered ones) who have been friendly for fifty years, and the conquerors, the Five Nations, whose allegiance was always doubtful. The basis of the Governor's thought and endeavors was the rich peltry trade with these two groups of Indians. William Penn had tried to buy the lands on both sides of the Susquehanna River from the Five Nations but was turned down.[25] In the interests of England, Governor Dongan kept three things separated in his mind, his policy towards the Indians on the great River, his dealings with the Five Nations, and especially with the Senecas who lived north of its two great branches, and thirdly his desire to bring back from Canada the race of Catholic Indians who had migrated there when the English captured New York. Along the Susquehanna River he sent two Jesuits to live with the conquered tribes, for on May 2, 1686 he wrote to Monsieur de Denonville, Governor of Canada:

> I have had two letters from the two fathers that live among *our* Indians, and I find them somewhat disturbed with an apprehension of warr, which is groundless, being resolved that it shall not begin here, and I hope your present conduct will prevent it there, and refer all differences home, as I shall doe, I hear one of the fathers is gone to you, and 'tother that staid, I have sent for him here lest the Indians should insult over him, 'tho it's a thousand pittys that those that have made such progress in the service of God should be disturbed, and that by the fault of those that laid the foundations of Christianity among these barbarous people.[26]

And in another letter to De Denonville from Dongan on July 26, 1686 we read: "For my part I shall take all imaginable care that the Fathers who preach the Holy Gospel to

those Indians *over whom I have power* bee not in the least ill treated."[27]

The Catholicity of Governor Dongan's policy towards the evangelization of the conquerors, the Five Nations, is, to say the least, questionable. In dealing with these Indians the peltry trade came first, because of its paramount interest to England; the evangelization came second. As we have just read, he knew that the French Jesuits had evangelized these peoples long before the English conquered the Dutch in New York. And to the English, the Governor included, the French in any form, whether voyageur, explorer, Jesuit or Recollect Missionary, or the Grand Seigneur of Canada, were all enemies and must at all costs be driven out or supplanted. To salve his conscience he chose the latter course, that is, to supplant the French priests with English priests.[28] Writing to De Denonville he said:

> 'Tis true I ordered *our* Indians if they should meet with any of your people or ours on this side of the lake without a passe from you or me that they bring them to Albany.[29]
>
> I have ordered *our* Indians strictly not to exercise any cruelty or insolence to them (the Missionary Fathers) and have written to the King my Master who hath as much zeal as any prince liveing to propagate the Christian faith and assure him how necessary it is to send some Fathers to the natives *allyed to us* and care would then be taken to dissuade them from their drunken debauches though certainly our Rum doth as little harm as your Brandy and in the opinion of Christians is much more wholesome; however to keep the Indians temperate and sober is very good and Christian performance but to prohibit them all strong liquors seem a little hard and very turkish.[30]

On June 20, 1687 he wrote to De Denonville: "I am daily expecting Religious men from England which I intend to put among those five nations."[31]

On August 21, 1687 De Denonville pulverized the arguments of Dongan:

> When you arrived in your present government did you not find, Sir, in the whole of the 5 Iroquois villages, all our missionaries sent by the King, almost the entire of whom the heretic merchants have caused to be expelled even in your time, which is not honorable to your government. It is only three years since the greater number were forced to leave, the fathers Lamberville alone bore up against the insults and ill treatment they received from the solicitations of your traders. It is not true, Sir, that you panted only to induce

them to abandon their mission? You recollect, Sir, that you took the trouble under the guise of duty, so late as last year, to solicit them by urgent discourses to retire under the pretext that I wished to declare war against the village of the Onontagues. What certainly had you of it, Sir, if it were not the charge and prohibition you had given them not to send the prisoners I demanded of them and they surrended to me? You foresaw the war I would make, by that which you were desirous of waging against me through them, and which you have waged against me through the Senecas. In this way, Sir, it is very easy to foresee events.[32]

On August 22, 1687 Governor de Denonville waxed even more eloquent and devastating when he attacked Governor Dongan's proposal to supplant the French with English priests. He wrote:

I should think, Sir, that you ought to have waited the decision of the differences between our Masters relative to the boundaries, before dreaming of introducing religious men among the Five Nations, your charity, Sir, for the conversion of these people would have been more useful to them or more honorable to you had you commenced by lending your protection to the missionaries they had for the advancement of religion, instead of taking pains to drive them from their missions and prevent them converting the heathen. You cannot deny, Sir, that should our missionaries leave, these poor infidels will be a long time without instruction if they must await the arrival of your religious men, and until these have learned the language.[33]

That De Denonville was speaking the truth is proved by Governor Dongan's earlier message to England. In speaking of the French he wrote:

They have fathers still among the five nations aforementioned, viz. the Maquaes, the Sinicaes, Cayouges, Oneides and the Onondagues[34] and have converted many of them to the Christian faith, and doe their utmost to draw them to Canada, to which they have already 6 or 700 retired, and more like to doe, to the great prejudice of this Government, if not prevented. I have done my endeavors and have gone so far in it that I have prevailed with the Indians to come back from Canada on condition that I procure for them a peece of land called Serachtague (*Saratoga*) lying upon Hudsons River 40 miles above Albany & there furnish them with Priests. Thereupon and upon a petition of the people of Albany to mee setting forth the reasonableness and conveniency of granting to the Indians their requests I have procured the land for them, altho it had formerly been patented to the people of Albany & have promised the Indians that they shall have Priests & that I will build them a Church & have assured the people of Albany that I

would address to his Maty and to your Lops (*Lordships*) that care may be taken to send over by the first, five or six, it being a matter of great consequence.

These Indians (the Five Nations) have about ten or twelve castles as they term them & those at a great distance one from another; soe that there is an absolute necessity of having soe many priests, that there be three always traveling from Castle to Castle & the rest live with them that are Christians.

By that means the French Priests will be obliged to retire to Canada, whereby the French will be divested of their pretence to ye Country & *then wee shall enjoy that trade without any fear of being diverted.*[35]

Governor Dongan's dealing with the Five Nations with regard to sending them missionaries fell through, as did his scheme at Saratoga. But the Indians on the lands around the Susquehanna River were evangelized by a Jesuit for almost ten years.

Pertinent Annual Letters

The reason the English Province sent three men to labor among the ten or fifteen Catholics of New York City[36] is a fact that is often distorted. Ostensibly it was on account of the ill-starred Latin School of the city,[37] but it is apparent that there was a much deeper reason. And this becomes clearer when we analyse the pertinent *Annual Letters of the Maryland Mission.* In passing, the first thing that we notice about certain of these Latin letters is that they were not translated correctly; the second thing that we notice is that their background, political and geographical, taken for granted in those days has disappeared. The English translation often was so deliberately toned down that it gives a completely different sense. The political background is seen in various archives of the Colonies and the geographical is seen, not in our maps, but in those used by the Jesuits of those centuries. For instance the Latin triennial letter which deals with the founding of the Maryland Province was translated as follows into English:

The affair labored under heavy and many difficulties, for in leading the colony to Maryland, by far the greater part were heretics, the country itself *a meridie Virginiae ab Aquilone,* is esteemed likewise to be a New England, that is two provinces full of English Calvinists and Puritans, so that, not less perhaps greater danger threaten our fathers in a foreign, than in the native land

> in England. Nor is the Baron himself able to find support for the Fathers, nor can they expect sustenance from the heretics, nor from the Catholics for the most part poor, nor from the savages who live after the manner of wild beasts.[38]

Here is the literal translation of the same Latin passage:

> The expedition labored under neither light nor few difficulties. For since the colony to be brought into Maryland would be for the most part heretical, and since this region would be bounded by Virginia on the south and New England on the north, that is to say two provinces full of English Calvinists and Puritans, not less, but perhaps more difficulties loomed up before our Fathers in an alien England than in England itself. And the Lord Baron could never be budged to donate even one obol for the support of our fathers. And so they could expect a living neither from the heretics separated from the faith, not from the Catholics for the most part poor, nor from the savages living after the manner of beasts.[39]

There is quite a difference between the first translation and the second. The first is blurred and toned down on purpose; the second shows us two things: first, the attitude of the Jesuits to Lord Baltimore who would not even contribute the smallest possible Jewish coin[40] to the Mission, and second, the map that the Jesuits had in their libraries, that is, the map of the anonymous *A Relation of Maryland* printed in 1635,[41] which clearly shows Virginia on the south of Maryland and New England on the north. We must remember that neither New York nor Pennsylvania were founded by this time, and accordingly New England was all that territory north of Maryland. With this map before us, that is, the one that the early Jesuits used, a cryptic letter or two of Father Copley written in double talk become crystal clear. He had asked permission from the Very Reverend Father General Mutius Vitelleschi to go to New England and in his letter he used the cryptic words *opus bonae spei*.[42] Taking the words at their face value one might suspect that Father Copley wanted to evangelize the Puritan Saints of the Charles River, but when we look at the map of *A Relation of Maryland* we notice that the only mentioned inhabitants on the map which shows lower New England were the Susquehannas who lived on both sides of the Susquehanna River. Now we understand what the *opus bonae spei* meant. And in due time the General blesses "the work of good hope."[43] With the aid of another letter of Father Copley's and another map we can figure out where

both he and Father Starkey were in 1650 and we can find the exact locale and can make a shrewd guess about the death of Father Copley with the aid of a bit of news that St. Isaac Jogues knew.[44] However, this leads us too far afield and is the matter of another article. I merely wish to point out that the apostolic labors of the Jesuits along the Susquehanna River is almost as ancient as the founding of the Maryland Mission.

Since this article deals primarily with the work of Father Henry Harrison among these Indians we obtain the proof by the same method outlined above. We have seen already that two priests were working among these Indians.[45] In the triennial Latin Letter of 1696 we notice the same two purposeful errors: the toned down English translation and the lost background, political and geographical. For the purpose of clarity I shall give the pertinent Latin original. In the first part of the letter the writer describes the work of the Jesuits among the white settlers from the earliest days of the mission. The entire second half deals entirely with their work among the savages. Here is the second part:

> Cum aboriginibus, minus quam in votis esset, commercium nec missionem ad eos ullam certam instituere adhuc nostri, quia singuli fere in silvis ferarum more et venationis causa, qua sola aluntur, mutatis frequenter sedibus, degunt sine ullo pago proprie dicto, licet urbes vocent tot hominum intra 5 vel 6 leucarum ambitum degentium numerum eumque qui illis praeest regem, qui vere pluribus talibus praesunt imperatores audiunt. Horum unus, plures illorum in primo huius missionis decennio baptizati sunt. Majus cum eis in Novo Eboraco cum eorum 5 gentibus commercium, vendentibus illis pelles ursinas, castoreas aliasque varii generis. Hic septennium exegit unus e nostris, sed ante triennium coactus exire, ut furori cederet uxoris novi gubernatoris, a principe Aurioco submissi, non quidem titulo religionis ejectus sed quod in regis sui legitimi Jacobi obsequium posset multos trahere delatus, in Marilandiam venit.[46]

Father Hughes, following the original English translation of this letter, writes:

> The documentary record of 1696 simply reads: "In New York one of Ours spent seven years, but three years ago he was forced to leave, owing to the fury of the wife of the new governor that had been appointed by the Prince of Orange, not indeed that he was expelled on the plea of religion, but that he had been denounced as capable of bringing many to the service of their legitimate King

James, and so he came to Maryland." As it is quite clear that the Governor, Colonel Fletcher had no need of his wife's interposition to police the province against Jacobites we infer that "the fury of the lady for its political integrity of New York was a screen for something else."

And in a learned footnote Father Hughes infers that the interest of the good lady and the governor was in piracy and in a certain Capt. Kidd in particular.

All through this passage Father Hughes took it for granted that the writer of this letter was speaking about Father Harvey.[47] If one looks at the Latin original with its balanced sentences and Ciceronian phraseology, it is apparent that the writer was talking about the apostolic work of some New York Jesuit among the Indians. It is clear that the writer was contrasting the work of the early Maryland Jesuits among the Indians with someone in particular (*unus e nostris*) who was doing the same kind of work from a base in New York. In the first ten years (*decennio*) of the Maryland Mission, that is, from 1634-44, one emperor and many Indians were baptised. But there was more fruit amongst these same Indians by one of Ours who labored in New York. *Majus cum eis in Novo Eboraco,* etc., is literally translated. "There was more fruit with those Indians in New York who sold to the Five Nations bear skins and beaver skins and such like." Then follows the connecting words: *Hic septennium exegit unus e nostris.* Here for seven years one of Ours labored. The word *hic* is not New York City, because both the Dutch and the English saw to it that no Indians lived in or near the city. The *decennium* of the early Maryland Mission's apostolic work among the Indians is balanced against two periods of later apostolic work—a *septennium*—and a *triennium* (almost) which would make roughly a second *decennium.* Certainly *ante triennium* does not mean three years ago; the author would have used *tres annos abhinc. Ante triennium* means before three years, that is, some time over two years.

The *unus e nostris* who performed almost ten years of apostolic work among the Indians was certainly not Father Harvey. He was much too old for that hazardous and onerous work; the almost ten years amongst the Indians who had no fixed abode would see him on such a mission between his

fiftieth and sixtieth years. Besides this work was going on in 1697-8, two years after Father Harvey was dead.[48] Consequently he was not the *unus e nostris*. Secondly, it was not Father Charles Gage of the Society; he lasted just two years in New York and went home.[49] That it was Father Henry Harrison is obtained by the process of elimination. He was the only one left. He was physically fit, just thirty-two years of age when he came to New York in 1684; secondly, when Governor Dongan was negotiating with the Five Nations at Albany in 1687 he did not take Father Harvey with him, he took one who knew the Algonquin dialect, Father Harrison.[50]

Locale of Father Harrison's Labors

The next point to clarify is the locale of Father Harrison's labors. It certainly was not at Saratoga among the Conewaugha Indians; these Indians refused to come to New York, as is apparent to anyone reading the documents relating to Governor Dongan. When these Indians finally migrated they settled along the Susquehanna River.[51] Neither was Father Harrison working among the Five Nations; we would have learned that from De Denonville or from the *Jesuit Relations*. But as Governor Dongan told the Governor of Canada, he was working with another Father along the Susquehanna River.[52] The Governor called these Indians "ours" in contradistinction to the Indians of the Five Nations, our allies. The other one working for a while with Father Harrison was Father Charles Gage.

This locale was in perfect harmony with the traditions of the English Province. It certainly is in keeping with the correct translation of the *Letter of 1696*. The author was treating about the same Indians tribes who had once been in Maryland and were now in some spot in New York State, that is, the Susquehanna River. That the French Jesuits recognized the jurisdiction of the English Jesuits over this locale is seen from the following citation from the *Relations*. In 1674 when Father Jean P. Pierron came from his visit to Acadia and Massachusetts to Maryland,

> he found two of our English fathers, dressed like seculars, and a brother like a farmer, having charge of a farm which serves to support the two missionaries. They labor successfully for the con-

> version of the heretics of the country, where there are in fact many Catholics and among them the Governor. . . . As these two fathers do not suffice Fr. Pierron cheerfully offers to assist them, and at the same time to establish a mission among the neighboring savages with whose language he is familiar. But there are many obstacles in the way of this project which seem incapable of execution; *because this is a mission belonging to Our English Fathers* who should themselves ask Fr. Pierron's aid; because it is in another Assistancy and the Father does not wish to leave that of France, and finally because a considerable sum is needed to commence to carry out the project.[53]

We notice in 1674 when the English Jesuits had no men to evangelize these Indians, that is, those that lived along the Susquehanna River, that they claimed this territory as being in their own Assistancy and that the French Jesuits respected that claim. Quite a number of these Indians lived below the 40° parallel, which Maryland considered to be in its own territory. If we compare the foregoing account in the *Jesuit Relations* with the English *Letter of 1696* we can readily see that one of the great cares of the English provincials was to send someone "to labor among the neighboring savages." And we have seen that the one destined for that mission in 1684 was Father Henry Harrison.

With this established we can now put a number of facts in their proper order. Henry Harrison was born in Antwerp of English parents in the year 1652.[54] He entered St. Omers, the Jesuit School in Flanders, about 1666 and in 1673 entered the Society of Jesus as a novice at Watten just three leagues distant.[55] The Maryland catalogue mentions him in New York, working with Father Harvey in 1684 when he was thirty-two years of age. Here he began the *septennium,* mentioned in the *Annual Letter of 1696*, and labored with the Indians who lived on both sides of the lower Susquehanna River. Looking at the very early maps of Pennsylvania we notice a trail starting from present day Harrisburg running almost due east and ending in upper New Jersey. This was the "forbidden trail" on which no white man or conquered Indian was allowed to enter.[56] As we learn from Governor Dongan's letter of May 22, 1686, Father Harrison had a companion, Father Charles Gage. When the two men came down from New York they were obliged to pass through Burlington, New Jersey, then over the Delaware River to Bristol, down the

road to Philadelphia. Then they went west along the trail that was to be called the Lancaster Pike, until they came to Conestogue. A little farther they came to Wright's Ferry which took them over the Susquehanna River. As they entered the Conewago Valley it was filled with the conquered tribes, living in the dense forests that grew there.[57] By this time the Andastes or Susquehannas were a conquered nation. These Andastes, commemorated in the *Jesuit Relations*,[58] often mentioned in the early *Maryland Archives*,[59] and spoken of by Father Andrew White in his *Relations*,[60] were the fiercest of all the eastern Indian tribes. Finally, in 1672 they were conquered, and were now a nation whose members were called Nephews and could make no decisions unless ratified by their Uncles, the Sachems of the Five Nations, whose chief Council Fire was at Onondaga, far to the north over the Endless Mountains.[61] All this territory which was visited later on by Father Joseph Greaton in 1726 from a base on Pipe Creek, a tributary of the Monocacy River, was to be the locale of the Conewago Mission, founded by Father William Wappeler in 1742, and consolidated by the giant missioner, Father James Pellentz in 1787.

As we learn from the *Letter of 1696* this mission had no definite site, because the tribes had no fixed abode and had to travel great distances to obtain their food. Then came trouble between the French and the neighboring Indians, the Senecas. As we learn from Dongan's letter, one of the Fathers went to Canada (undoubtedly Father Harrison, because he, being born at Antwerp, knew the French language) and Father Charles Gage was recalled to New York City. In 1687 Father Harrison was at Albany with the Governor dealing with the Five Nations. In 1688 Father Harrison was back with the Indians on the Susquehanna River. On this trip, as he stopped in Burlington, he made the acquaintance of an old classmate at St. Omers, John Tatham, whose alias was John Gray.[62] John Tatham was a merchant, "locally suspected of being a Roman Catholic,"[63] agent for Dr. Daniel Coxe of London (one of the owners of West New Jersey). John Tatham had one of the largest libraries in America[64] and was known to William Penn as "a Scholar and averse to the Calvinists."[65] The next stop for Father Harrison was with Peter Dubuc who

lived in a rented house in Philadelphia. He undoubtedly said Mass in both houses. Peter Dubuc, the goldsmith, was quite friendly with the Quakers, and undoubtedly introduced Father Harrison as Father John Smith to them. The Quakers of Philadelphia had quite a number of relatives who lived on the eastern shore and in Ann Arundel County.

Then came the Orange Revolution in England and the imitative Rebellions in 1689 in Maryland under Jack Coode and in New York under Jacob Leisler. Eventually the news of the Revolution got to Father Harrison's ears and he hurried back through Philadelphia and the older Quaker town, Burlington, neither of which felt the shock of the Revolution, and took up his abode with William Pinhorne in Monmouth County, New Jersey.[66] The little flock of Catholics in New York scattered to the neighboring state or even farther, to Pennsylvania. And the ex-Governor went into hiding.

After Colonel Dongan was relieved of his commission as Governor, April 22, 1688,[67] he retired to his estate at Hempstead.[68] He evidently thought it safer to be in America than in England with a triumphant William of Orange on the throne. However, when Jacob Leisler seized power for himself in New York City on May 31, 1689, Colonel Dongan became a "hunted man" as one of his contemporaries wrote.[69] On July 9, 1689 Dongan put to sea in the brigantine that he owned, but soon put back to shore on account of seasickness.[70] Among the wild rumors going the rounds in New York was the story that Colonel Dongan had an arsenal on his estate. There evidently was some truth to that story. A quite plausible theory is that when he left his estate on July 9, he took a number of rifles and blunderbusses down the Sound, around New Jersey and up the Delaware Bay to John Tatham's house in Burlington, because in the latter's inventory of goods is included a considerable number of rifles and blunderbusses that does not fit into John Tatham's role as a scholar. Pretty well authenticated is the fact that Colonel Dongan was in New Jersey during the early part of 1690, for Mr. Van Cortland, writing to Sir Edmund Andros, said: "Governor Dongan was confined in his house at Hemstede, but is gone to New Jersey."[71] Colonel Bayard hinted strongly that Colonel Dongan had a number of guns aboard his brigantine for he wrote:

I have been aboard myself and see; she is loaded with pipe-staves and flowers and designed for Madeira; as for the Guns the Captain told me that if I would give him security, that if he was taken by the Turk or any of his people to redeem them, that then he would leave his guns, but I thought that might cost possibly three or four thousand pounds if such a thing should fall out and would not venture to give such security, and the guns are his own and I could not take any man's goods by force beside the Captain swears that if any come aboard, he will cut them over the pate or knock their brains out.[72]

Escape from America

Although Father Harrison was reported in Ireland in 1690 and Colonel Dongan in London in 1691, circumstantial evidence points to the fact that the ex-Governor and his Chaplain went to Ireland in the same ship. Dongan had many reasons for going to Ireland; Father Harrison had none. Dongan's uncle, Richard Talbot, Earl of Tyrconnel, had been made Lord Lieutenant of Ireland on January 17, 1687. John Evelyn in his diary, a book that has all the marks of having been doctored years after the recorded events, wrote this entry: "17 Jan. 1687. Lord Tyrconnel gone to succeed the Lord Lieutenant (Clarendon) in Ireland, to the astonishment of all sober men and to the evident ruin of the Protestants of that kingdom, as well as of its great improvements going on."[73]

On October 24, 1687 Dongan wrote to James II: "May it pleas your Majestie: Since Judge Palmer went away, I received a letter from the Earl of Tyrconnel, wherein he lets me know it will be requisite for your Majesties service that I goe home."[74]

And home to Dongan meant Ireland, for he was born at Castletown in County Kildare in 1634. "His father was Sir John Dongan, a member of the Irish Parliament. His mother Mary was a member of the distinguished Talbot family."[75]

When we start investigating the avenues of escape from America in those days for persons who were hunted by the intolerant governments, we notice that there were only two ports where one could ship out in comparative saftey, Philadelphia and Burlington. Judging from the way that the people of Boston treated Sir Edmund Andros immediately after the Orange Revolution, we can rule that port out as one of

the avenues of escape to Europe.[76] Then too with Jacob Leisler watching every ship that left New York we know that Dongan would have little chance of putting out to sea from that harbor. In Maryland the situation was just as impossible. When Jack Coode, the ex-Anglican minister, suddenly flowering out in a Colonel's uniform on July 25, 1689,[77] took control of the Province he gave orders that no ship was to leave Maryland except in convoy.[78] We notice that Henry Darnall managed to ship out on the *Thomas* and *Susanna* (Captain Thomas Everard, Commander) by subterfuge, but he seems to have been the only one who escaped to England.[79] When he found it impossible to leave Maryland for England he first went to Philadelphia and missed shipping from that port[80] and then came back to Ann Arundel County. He wrote: "On the 26 of September when (Majr Sewall then being sick) I myself got a passage hither in one Everard."

The Quakers of Philadelphia and Burlington were extraordinarily uninterested in the accession to the throne of King William; consequently neither town was rocked with rebellion. Their Majesties, William and Mary, were officially announced as occupying the throne of England, and after the announcement the Quakers went quietly about their business.

From the *Annual Letters of Maryland, Series of 1685-1690* we learn that because of the Rebellion in New York a Father walked from that city to Maryland. This was Father Thomas Harvey, the superior of the New York Mission. He was back again in New York in the following year as we learn from the *Jesuit Relations*,[81] and consequently we have another reason showing that Father Harvey was not Father Smith of Talbot County, Maryland. Father Harvey met Peter Dubuc of Philadelphia in 1689 and again in the following year, 1690, when he was returning to New York. In 1693 he certainly was not Father John Smith, late of Talbot County, Maryland. If Peter Dubuc were writing of Father Harvey in his will he would have mentioned him as of New York or late of New York. Father Harvey stayed in or near New York until he finally retired to Maryland in 1696 to die. In the same *Annual Letter* we also read that the other Father, "after many perils of the sea, even being captured and robbed of his possessions by Dutch pirates, eventually came safely to France."[82]

John Tatham was part owner of the sloop *Unitie* with James Johnston of Monmouth County, New Jersey. This ship carried tobacco from Maryland and Virginia to England.[83] And since John Tatham was such an ardent Jacobite and good Catholic, I think it safe to say that the two priests, Father Harrison and Father Harvey, accompanied Colonel Dongan to Burlington, that Father Harrison and the Colonel shipped out of that port to Ireland, and that Father Harvey went the rest of the way by foot to Maryland. The only reason why Father Harrison should go to Ireland was to accompany the ex-Governor since he still considered himself to be his chaplain. After the two landed in Ireland, Father Harrison took ship for Flanders and was captured by Dutch pirates. On February 2, 1691 he took his last vows[84] and in the following year he was back in Maryland ready to being the *triennium* among his beloved Indians.

On October 21, 1692 Governor Benjamin Fletcher, Esquire, who was in charge of the Colony of New York was also appointed over the Proprietary of Pennsylvania.[84] The new governor like so many others that came from England was busily engaged in making his fortune at the expense of the colony. His successor, Richard, Earl of Bellomont, proved that fact through many dreary pages of dispatches sent to the Lords of Trade and Plantations in England.[85] Fletcher was noted for his inordinate vanity which everyone except himself recognized. When the French and Indians fell on the hapless hamlet of Schenectady, Fletcher got up a leisurely expedition against the marauders and when he arrived on the scene the enemy was not in sight. Immediately the Indians of the Five Nations gave him a nickname: *Cajenquiragoe,* Lord of the Great Swift Arrow,[86] which one of his white contemporaries said was, "design'd as a droll on the man and his vain glory . . . the Indians bestowed that name on him as a sarcasticall pun." After receiving the forced praise of the people of Albany, coming home to New York and receiving a gold cup worth £120, which was never paid for, he composed a pamphlet entitled, "A Journal of the late actions of the French at Canada with the manner of their being repulsed by His Excellency Benjamin Fletcher, their Majesties' Governor of New York, impartially related by Colonel Nicholas Reyard and Lieutenant Colonel Charles Lodowick who attended his

Excellency during the entire expedition," which was printed in London for Richard Baldwin in 1693.

The other interest of Benjamin Fletcher was in the establishment of Trinity Church in New York.[89] He was ably assisted in this by his wife. A bone of contention was the "King's Farm" outside New York City, which was given to the Vestry of Trinity Church by Fletcher. The proceeds of the King's Farm had been set aside for the Latin School run by the Jesuits in New York. Governor Dongan had made this assignment but was told by James II to annul it. Fletcher's attachment to the new church was called into question by a contemporary who wrote:

> After this all you will perhaps wonder when I tell you that this mans bell rings twice a day for prayers and that he appears with a great affectation of piety, but this is true, and it is as true that it makes him all the more ridiculous, not more respected. For we are a sort of a downright blundering people that measure mens piety by their practice than by their pretence to it, or ostentation of it.[90]

The church wardens, however, were of a different opinion,

> for Colonel Fletcher, by his great zeal, generous liberality, and indefatigable industry in the latter part of his government brought so far to perfection that before his departure, he was divers time present (to his own and the general satisfaction of the lovers of the English Church and Nation) at the public worship of God, of which (if we must not say he was the sole founder) it is an offence of truth and an injustice to him not to affirm that he was the principal promoter, a most liberal benefactor to it, and that without him to this day it never had had a being.[91]

His attachment to the Anglican religion is shown in the following:

> When Governor Fletcher also took over the Proprietary of Pennsylvania he tried to make the Church of England the established church, but Wm. Penn blocked him by writing the following letter: "I hope Lord Somers with the other great and just men will easily think that it was never intended that Pennsylvania should be a church plantation."[92]

One of the great preoccupations of the Anglican Church in New York was to send their own missionaries to the Indians and it was either over this fact or the possession of the revenues of the King's Farm that Father Harrison ran afoul of the wife of Governor Fletcher. In reading over the *Annual*

Letter of 1696 we notice that he was driven out of the Indian mission along the Susquehanna River, not by the title of religion because that would have alienated the Catholic Indians there, but because of a serious political charge, namely, that he would turn all the Indians there into Jacobites, who in turn would be a menace to all the colonies. Certainly the author of the *Annual Letter* was not talking about the ten New York Catholics of 1696 becoming Jacobites and thus being a serious threat to the Colony.[93]

Father Harrison Recalled

When the English Provincial heard of this second failure of the Indian mission he recalled Father Harrison from Maryland and sent him as English Penitentiary to the Holy House at Loreto in Italy.[94] Father Harrison's health was never too good; and the Provincial thought that a more benign climate would be beneficial to the missionary. While Father Harrison was in Italy the Holy See became interested in the faculties that the Jesuit Fathers used in Maryland. In answering a questionnaire sent him by Father Francis Porter (Rome), Father Harrison said:

> All the aforesaid countries and islands are under the heretical Bishop of London. When I was sent by my Superior to those missions, there was not as yet any English Catholic Bishop. Afterwards, four such were created under the Catholic King, James. But to which one of them the aforesaid countries are subject, I do not know. At all events, when I was on those missions, there was no Vicar Apostolic there; but all the missionaries depended upon their regular Superiors alone.[95]

Towards the end of the year 1695 Father Thomas Harvey, broken in health returned to Maryland and died in the following year. When news of his death was received in England, Father Harrison was recalled from Italy and once more was sent to Maryland.[96]

Before Father Harrison returned to Maryland he went to London and sought out Colonel Dongan and told him the whole story about the Indian Mission and how the wife of Governor Fletcher was the principal cause of his expulsion from the lands on the Susquehanna. Now Colonel Dongan had an extreme dislike for William Penn and resisted all efforts towards Penn's acquisition of the lands along the Susque-

hanna. But on January 12, 1696 Colonel Dongan had a change of heart. The Catholic missions came first now. The interests of England in the fur trade and the integrity of the Province of New York came second. He made the *amende honorable*; he deeded the entire territory to William Penn for the trifling sum of £100 and a peppercorn rent for the next thousand years. In this way he had his revenge on Governor Fletcher and his wife at the expense of his animosity to William Penn.[97]

Father Harrison returned to Maryland in 1697 to find the Jesuits once more established on their lands. In 1698 Father Hobart the Franciscan died on his estate in Charles County and, as we have seen, remembered Father Harrison in his will. When Father Harrison returned to the Indian Mission on the Susquehanna River he was surprised to learn that the Indians of the Five Nations did not recognize the deed of Colonel Dongan to William Penn.[98] The Sachems of the Five Nations considered that the Susquehanna Indians were incapable of selling these lands in the first place because they were a conquered people, and secondly they had merely given them to Dongan in trust. Still Father Harrison continued working among these peoples, returning once in a while to Maryland. We get the last glimpse of him in a letter of John Talbot, rector of St. Mary's Church, to Richard Gillingham, dated November 24, 1702. As usual the news was a little late but it was authentic.

> The papists have been zealous and diligent to send priests and Jesuits to convert the Indians to their superstitions; 'tis wonderfully acted, ventured and suffered upon that design; they have indeed become all things, and even turned Indians as it were to gain them, which I hope will provoke some of us to do our part for our holy faith and mother, the Church of England. One of their priests lived half a year in their wigwams (i.e., houses) without a shirt and when he petitioned Lord Bellomont for a couple he was not only denyed but banished. Whereas one of ours in Discourse with My Lord of London said "who did his Lordship think would come thither that had a dozen shirts."[99]

Father Harrison's Death

We now put the last pieces of the puzzle in their proper place and we have the complete picture. The Maryland Cata-

logue for 1700 speaking of Father Harrison says, "He was on his way but nothing has been heard of him," and in 1701 it records his death without mentioning the day or place, "*Aet.* 49."[100] If we look at the Latin text we get another picture: "De P. Henrico Harrison qui eo tendebat nihil adhuc audimus."[101] Father Hughes thought that the phrase *qui eo tendebat* meant that he was coming from England to the Maryland Mission, but such a conclusion could not be correct. The Maryland Catalogue places Father Harrison in Maryland in 1697, the will of Father Hobart proves him there in 1698, and the letter of John Talbot shows that he was working along the Susquehanna a little later. The Latin phrase *qui eo tendebat* was one of those cryptic phrases understood by every Jesuit in England—it meant he was on his way *there,* that is, to the secret Indian Mission of the Jesuits along the Susquehanna River.

In the following year his death is recorded not by a question mark but by a period. If the Jesuits were not certain of that fact they would never have given the year of his death as a fact. In a learned article by Anna Dill Gamble entitled, *An Ancient Mission among a Great People,* we learn that the Jesuits in Maryland were often in touch with their confreres in New France by Indian runners who travelled from St. Thomas' in Maryland to Quebec to obtain faculties and holy oils from the Archbishop.[102] Undoubtedly one of these runners brought news of the death of Father Harrison in 1700. In the Georgetown University Library is a *Manuale Sacerdotum* according to the Salisbury rite, which the English Jesuits used in England and in Maryland. At the beginning of the book on ten blank pages, the Our Father, Hail Mary, the creed, the gloria, the ten commandments, and three precepts of the Church are written by hand in English and translated into an Algonquin dialect. This book undoubtedly was brought back to St. Thomas' along with the chalice and patten and his vestments as a mute and sure testimony of Father Harrison's death in 1700, so that the next year's Maryland Catalogue could record his demise with certainty. If he was murdered by the Twightwees (Miamis), a tribe that had advanced to the headwaters of the Potomac River and was always a source of apprehension to the authorities of Maryland and

Pennsylvania, he emulated his namesake, Father John Smith, the alias of Father Thomas Harrison who was judicially murdered at Lancaster Castle in 1650.

In closing this article we notice that none of the horrors of the wars between the Five Nations and the Catawbas took place in the Conewago Valley; neither did any of the greater horrors of the aftermath of the French and Indian War take place in these parts. The Catholic Indians, though a conquered race, always striving for their independence from the domination of the Five (Six) Nations, respected too much the memory of the great Jesuit who labored so long among them and whose peaceful spirit hovered over the lands of the Susquehanna.

NOTES

[1]*American Catholic Historical Researches* in the future will be referred to by its initials ACHR. Vol. 14, pp. 177-78 gives the entire will. Vol. 15, pp. 65-68 gives the controversy between Martin Griffin and Father Devitt, S.J.

[2]Thomas Hughes, S.J., *The History of the Society of Jesus in North America*, Vol. 2, p. 148. Henceforth, *The History of the Society of Jesus in North America* will be referred to as Hughes, Text or Documents.

[3]Hughes, Text, Vol. 2, p. 151, note 8.

[4]*Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus*, Part the First, p. 343. Henceforth, referred to as Foley, Collectanea.

[5]*Jesuit Relations*, Thwaites, Vol. 64, p. 280.

[6]*The Maryland Calendar of Wills*, composed and edited by James Baldwin, Vol. II, from 1685 to 1702, p. 162. Henceforth, referred to as Md. Wills, Baldwin.

Hobart, Richard, Chas Co. 7 May, 1698
14 June, 1698

To William Hunter, Robert Brookes, John Hall, Nicholas Dewlick, Christopher Plunkett, George Tubman*, each child of Maj. Wm. Boarman** to son (unnamed) of Anthony Piper, Mary Benson, Leonard Brooke and his wife, and to Ann Brooke and their hrs. personalty.

Exs. Anthony Neale, Wm. Boarman, Benj. Hall.

*Father Hobart was a very charitable individual. George Tubman was the Anglican rector of Portobacco. Dr. Bray at his visitation had this to say about this divine. "Lastly as to place; it so happens that you are seated in the midst of Papists, nay within two miles of Mr. Hunter, the chief among the numerous priests at this time in this province; and who, I am credibly informed by the most considerable gentlemen in these parts, has made that advantage

of your scandalous life, that there have been more perversions made to Popery in that part of Maryland, since your polygamy has been the talk of the country than in all the time it has been an English colony." Hughes, Text, Vol. 2, p. 443; see also note 18.

Nicholas Gulick was dismissed from the Society in 1696. (Hughes, Vol. 2, p. 681.)

**Major William Boarman had a Catholic chapel on his plantation in Charles County. Hughes, Text, Vol. 2, p. 450. Md. Wills, Baldwin, Vol. III, p. 140. One should not confuse the John Smith (Catholic) of Charles County who died in 1705 (Md. Wills, Vol. III, p. 71) with the John Smith who is numbered among the Jesuits and Franciscans of this Will. Father Hobart, noted for his charity, would not purposely exclude Father Harrison, who was at St. Thomas' 1697-8, and include in his will the polygamous Anglican divine, George Tubman.

[7]Hughes, Text, Vol. 2, p. 683.

[8]Foley, Collectanea, Part the Second, p. 914; also recorded in *Records*, Vol. 1, pp. 664-5.

[9]The names in brackets are the Pennsylvania names for the same tribes.

[10]Gilmary Shea, *Catholic Missions*, p. 291.

[11]Cf. note 60 of this article.

[12]Cf. note 53 of this article.

[13]*Colonial Records*, Pennsylvania, Vol. 3, pp. 129-30.

[14]The author has another article on Father Joseph Greaton, S.J., showing how he started his apostolic labors among these Indians from the plantation of James Carroll, called "Pork Hall" situated on Pipe Creek, one of the tributaries of the Monocacy River.

[15]This is recorded in the Memorial to the Earl of Halifax. See ACHR, Vol. 9, p. 42. "The Maryland Memorial to the Earl of Halifax states that during the treaty of June and July 1744 the Superior of the Maryland Jesuit Mission, Father Richard Molyneux, S.J., was in Lancaster with the Indians. He had been brought there evidently by the Proprietary of Pennsylvania and had been frequently at Worral's Inn consulting with the Pennsylvania Commissioners."

[16]Hughes, Text, Vol. 2, p. 691. Father Thomas Digges, S.J. (1749) "in Susquehanock", 1750 "in Sequanock" V. Superior, 1752 "in Sequanock Superior."

[17]Consult map in *Narratives of Early Maryland*, Clayton Colman Hall (Chas. Scribner, N. Y. 1910).

[18]This expression is seen verbatim in almost every non-Catholic controversial booklet or broadside of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. There must be somewhere in England a master copy of anti-catholic propaganda of the sixteenth century which told all good Protestants what was the proper thing to say when talking about the Catholic Church.

Colonial Records, Pennsylvania, Vol. 3, p. 441. "August 26, 1732. At a meeting with Tyoninhogoron and other chiefs, the Proprietor,

Governor and others being present, the chiefs say that the French priests and *others* that come among them speak nothing but Peace to them."

[19]For fuller information on this subject *vide Conrad Weiser, Friend of Colonist and Mohawk*, by Paul A. W. Wallace; Phila., University of Pennsylvania Press, 1945.

[20]*Records of the Cath. Hist. Soc.*, Vol. 17, p. 259. On Oct. 3, 1774 there were no Indians on the Eastern Shore of Maryland, where Father Mosley worked. They had all started migrating to Pennsylvania from the year 1690 to 1709. *Vd. Arch. of Maryland, Proceedings of Council*, 1687/8-1693, p. 181.

[21]See Deed of Thomas Dongan to William Penn, described later on in this chapter. Cf. note 97.

[22]*New York Colonial Documents*, Vol. 3, p. 350.

[23]*Ibid*, p. 417.

[24]*Ibid*, p. 393.

[25]*Ibid*, p. 418.

[26]*Ibid*, pp. 455-6.

[27]*Ibid*, p. 460.

[28]*Ibid*, p. 440.

[29]*Ibid*, p. 463.

[30]*Ibid*, p. 463.

[31]*Ibid*, p. 465.

[32]*Ibid*, pp. 467-8.

[33]*Ibid*, pp. 471-2.

[34]"The Mohawks, keepers of the eastern door, were a part of the Five Nations Confederacy (the Iroquois) whose chief towns and council fires dotted the forest along the Ambassador's Road between the Hudson River and Niagara. From east to west first the Mohawks, properly the Caniengas, the People of the Flint-Mohawk being a name given to them in derision by their enemies, the Delawares, whose nation, having originated the League, was known as the Eldest Brother; then the Oneidas, or People of the Standing Stone; the Onondagas, or People of the Mountain; the Cayugas, the Great-Pipe People, and the Senecas, or people of the Great Hill." Conrad Weiser, Wallace, p. 19.

[35]*New York Colonial Manuscripts*, Vol. 3, pp. 393-5.

[36]*New York Colonial Manuscripts*, Vol. 4, p. 166.

"In obedience to Yr Excell Comds I doe returne a List of the Roman Catholicks in the Citty of New Yorke, which are:-

Majr Anthony Brockholes*** Peter Cavilier John Fenny*
Mr. Thomas Howarding John Cooly Phillip Cunningham
John Caveleir Christiane Lowrence
Mr. William Duglas** signed Pr Will. Merrett Mayr."

*John Fenny (on page 310 same Vol.) was a Popish taylor and a beggar on May, 1698 according to Richard, Earl of Bellomont, Gov. N. Y., noted for his dealings with Capt. Kidd. See pp. 470 and 762—articles of agreement.

**Mr. William Douglas bought land in Cecil County, Maryland. See author's article on Father Thomas Mansell, S.J.

***Majr Anthony Brockholes retired to N. J. *Idem*, Vol. 3, pp. 657, 721.

[37]*New York Colonial Manuscripts*, Vol. 4, p. 490. Report of Bellomont to the Lords of Trade, April 13, 1699. "Besides Mr. Attorney Generall assures me that in Colonel Dongan's time, he, to make his court to King James, desires this farm might be appropriated to the maintenance of a Jesuit School; but King James (bigot though he was) refused, saying he would not have his Governors deprived of their conveniencies." Bellomont had been trying to get this farm (the King's Farm) for himself, but his predecessor Fletcher had given the same to the Trustees of Trinity Church. See also Hughes, Text, Vol. 2, p. 147.

[38]Foley, Series VII, p. 364.

[39]The Latin text is in Hughes, Documents, Vol. I, p. 178.

[40]See Ezechiel, Chap. 45, v. 12. "And the sicle hath twenty obols. Now twenty sicles and five and twenty sicles, and fifteen sicles make a mna."

[41]This booklet is very rare. There are only two copies known to exist, one in the British Museum and the other in the New York Public Library, 5th Ave. and 42nd St., New York.

[42]Hughes, Documents, Vol. 1, p. 31. "Quoad excursionem attinet Rae Vae in Novam Angliam non habeo ego quod opponam. Perpendat ipsa diligenter difficultatem operis suis cum consultoribus, et si *rei bene gerendae spes* affulgeat per me licebit."

Hughes, Text, Vol. 2, p. 24. "In the month of February, leaving Starkey there to undertake 'a work of good promise' (*opus bonae spei*) Copley penetrated into Maryland."

[43]In March, 1648 Copley reported to the General (Documents, Vol. 1, pp. 128-9.) "Iter terrestre per silvas jam nuper apertum est duorum dierum a Marilandia in Virgineam, ita ut in una missione jam comprehendi potest utraque regio," i.e., Virginia and Maryland. In a footnote pp. 24-25, Text, Vol. 2. As to the road lately opened "a two day's journey," compare Mobberly. "From St. Inigoes house (on St. Mary's River) to the Potomac is supposed to be five miles, the distance from the said house to the Virginia shore, twelve or fifteen. This led us to believe that the new road was from Potomac to Jamestown in Virginia. The Rev. E. I. Devitt, S.J., is of the opinion that the road was from Maryland on the eastern shore to Accomac; that in Accomac Father Rigbie had died; that there too Fathers Starkey and Copley lay hid and subsequently ended their days."

N.B. Both of these theories do not stand on a firm foundation because both Father Hughes and Father Devitt were using the English translation in Brother Foley's Records. "*Iter terrestre per silvas*" is not a road; it is an Indian trail. This trail was the Monocacy Trail opened up by the Seneca Indians in their wars against the Tuscororas and the Catawbas in the Carolinas. This Indian trail started at Wright's ferry, down through Conewago, along the Monocacy River, over the Potomac at "Patriomeck" (on the Map of the *Relation*) or Potowomeck on John Smith's map of 1606. It was to this place on

the upper Potomac that the Piscataway Indians had fled after one of the incursions of the Susquehannas. Therefore from some place on the Susquehanna River to Potowomeck in Virginia the journey was two days; from the same place Father Copley could reach lower Maryland in two days along the trail that came through Deer Creek. It was to the same place, Pottowomec (Harper's Ferry) in Virginia, that the Jesuits fled in 1655-6 after the Battle of Providence. At Accomac they would not have been safe; besides they could have obtained wine at the Inn; but at Potowomeck they would have been safe and would obtain no wine. The scenery given in the Latin letter *vasta flumina* shows that there were at least two rivers. The two rivers that meet at Harper's Ferry are the Potomac and the Shenandoah.

[44]*Catholic Missions*, Gilmary Shea, last chapter.

[45]Cf. notes 26 and 27.

[46]Hughes, Documents, Vol. I, p. 140.

[47]Hughes, Text, Vol. 2, p. 152.

[48]Hughes, Text, Vol. 2, p. 682.

[49]Hughes, Text, Vol. 2, p. 683. "1686-1687, in N. Y.; 1688 back in England; left S.J., 1693."

[50]*Thomas Dongan, Colonial Governor of New York, 1683-1688;* by Rev. Joseph Patrick Phelan, M.A., Litt.D.; LL.D., P. J. Kenedy & Sons, p. 67. "Fr. Harrison accompanied the Governor to Albany in 1687 and spent the winter there."

[51]*Conewago Collections*, by John T. Reily, p. 1049. "The Indians that gave our Conewago its name were refugees from this old St. Lawrence Mission country, of a tribe at war with and conquered by the Five Nations—not native dwellers of this section, but hiders from Iroquois vengeance."

[52]Cf. note 26.

[53]*Jesuit Relations*, Thwaites, Vol. LIX, pp. 72-74.

[54]Foley, Collectanea, Part First, p. 335; Hughes, Text, Vol. 2, p. 682.

[55]*Ibid.*

[56]One of the authorities on the Indians of Pennsylvania and the Six Nations is Mr. Paul A. W. Wallace, Annville, Pa. In his forthcoming book he will discuss the various trails of the Indians in these parts. According to him there were various trails for different purposes, war, vacation, hunting, and the other secret trail known as the Forbidden Trail.

[57]*Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. 24, pp. 469-470. "Letters of the Rev. Richard Locke of the Society of Propagating the Gospel in Foregin Parts" by Benjamin F. Owen. The Rev. Locke in 1746-1752, talking about Conewago, wrote: "There is a public Popish Chappel supplied by the same Jesuite as supplys Lancaster with abundance of Papists, but as the whole Country is one continued wood, tis impossible to find out the number of ym."

[58]That this fort was there we learn from John Smith's map of 1606, and from Augustine Herrman's map of 1670. That the fort was destroyed we learn from Thornton Seller's map of 1681. For a fuller

description see Miss Anne Dill Gamble's article in *Records of American Catholic Historical Society.* "An ancient mission among a great people," Vol. 60, p. 125 seq. Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations,* Vol. XXXIII—*vd.* Father Ragenau 1647, Father Jerome Lalemont's description of these people in same volume.

[59]In 1652 the authorities of Maryland made an alliance with these peoples.

[60]Hughes, Documents, Vol. I, p. 104. *Sasquehanoes, gens bellis assueta, etc.*

[61]Conrad Weiser, Wallace, *passim* in dealing with relationship of conqueror to conquered. For the "Endless Mountains" see Lewis Evans, Map. A Map of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and New York and the Three Delaware Counties: by Lewis Evans, MDCCXLIX.

[62]The names of the students at St. Omers from the beginning have been lost, however, the names of the first five students in their class standing are extant, and among these is John Gray. Extract of letter of Father H. Chadwick, S.J., archivist, Stonyhurst College, England. "The other John Gray was in Figures in 1661 (perhaps came that year?) and in Grammar in 1663; if he went on normally to Rhetoric he would have left at the end of the school year 1666-1667."

[63]*Burlington Court Book of West New Jersey, 1680-1709,* edited by H. Clay Reed and Charles J. Miller, The American Historical Society, Washington, D.C., 1944, p. lii.

[64]See author's forthcoming article on John Tatham. See *Records of American Catholic Historical Society,* Vol. VI, pp. 117-133.

[65]*ACHR,* Vol. 20, p. 166.

[66]*New York Historical Documents,* Vol. 4, p. 398.

[67]*N.Y. Colonial Manuscripts,* Vol. 3, p. 550.

[68]*Ibid,* p. 655.

[69]*Ibid,* p. 721. "Coll: Dongan has been hounted by the sd Leysler from place to place and last come hither, where I hope he may be quiet." This letter was dated May 26, 1690, Boston.

[70]*Ibid,* p. 595.

[71]*Ibid,* p. 716.

[72]*Documentary History of New York,* O'Callaghan, 4 Vols. Albany, 1849-50. Vol. 2, p. 30.

[73]*Diary,* John Evelyn, p. 272.

[74]*New York Colonial Manuscripts,* Vol. 3, p. 492.

[75]*Thomas Dongan, Governor of New York* by Rev. John H. Kenedy, p. 14.

[76]Governor Andros, by no means a Catholic, was kept a prisoner for quite some time in Boston. Thomas Newton, writing to Captain Nicholson, expressed his doubts about the safety of Colonel Dongan in Boston. Cf. note 69.

[77]"The Declaration of the reason and motive for the prest appearing in arms on His Majtys Protestant Subjects in the Province of Maryland" was signed by John Coode and his associates on July 25, 1689.

Archives of Maryland, Proceedings of the Council, 1687/8-1693, pp. 101-7.

[78]*Ibid.* p. 197 Nicholson to Coode. "I am alsoe to give you notice tht in persuance of His Majesties commands, that noe shipps be permitted to goe for Europe but in Fleets etc." p. 187—same to same—"hope you will take care that noe Shipps or Vessells be permitted to sayle from thence until the 24th of July next."

[79]*Ibid*, p. 175.

[80]*Ibid*, p. 157.

[81]Cf. note 5. "But all their plans failed on account of the Revolution in England and the consequent usurpation of the New York government by Jacob Leisler (Dec. 1689). These Jesuits were driven out of the colony, but Harvey returned in the following year, and continued his position for several years, until broken health compelled him to return to Maryland where he soon after died."

[82]Documents, Vol. 1, p. 138. "Alter in Marylandiam pedestri itinere profectus est; alter, post multa maris discrimina, a piratis etiam Hollandis captus et spoliatus, tandem incolumis in Galliam pervenit."

[83]*New Jersey Archives, Calendar of New Jersey Records.* First Series, Vol. XXI, p. 221. "June 15, 1691. Bond. John Tatham and James Johnston, owners of the sloop *Unitie* to Matthias de Hart, master thereof, to hold him harmless in regard to his freight of tobacco." On page 260, *ibid*, we learn that James Johnston lived in Monmouth County. Foley, Collectanea, Part the First, p. 335, speaking of Henry Harrison: "In 1690 the same Catalogue (Maryland) records him as in Ireland."

[84]Foley, Collectanea, Part the First, p. 335.

[85]*New York Colonial Manuscripts*, Vol. 3, pp. 860-1.

[86]*New York Colonial Manuscripts*, Vol. 4, *passim.*

[87]*Ibid*, p. 22.

[88]*Ibid*, p. 222.

[89]*Ibid.* For this item see *New York Colonial Manuscripts*, pp. 463, 473, 483, 813.

[90]*Ibid*, p. 224.

[91]*Ibid*, pp. 526-7.

[92]*Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. 73, p. 367.

[93]See note 46.

[94]Foley, Collectanea, Part the First, p. 335. "On April, 1695 he left Rome for Loreto to take the place of Fr. Philip Wright there as English Penitentiary."

[95]*Dublin Review*, No. 134, 1904, p. 68. "The London Vicariate Apostolic and the West Indies" by Rev. Thomas Hughes, S.J. Father Hughes also treats at length on this subject in Text, Vol. 2, Chap. XVIII, p. 567 seq. The citation of Father Harrison to Father Francis Porter is found in Propaganda Archives. America, Antille, I. f. 287.

[96]Foley, Collectanea, Part the First, p. 335. "In 1697 he reappears in Maryland."

[97]Deed of Thomas Dongan to William Penn, January 12, 1696.

The tract of land lying upon both sides of the River commonly

known by the name of the Susquehanna River and the lakes adjacent: in or near the Province of Pennsylvania in America beginning with the Mountains or head of the said River and running as far as into the Bay of Chesepeake with all isles etc. which the said Thomas Dongan lately purchased of or had given him by the Sinneca Susquehanna Indians. *Pennsylvania Archives*, Vol. 1664-1747, p. 121.

[98]Conrad Weiser, Wallace. Canasatego speaking, "We have had your deeds interpreted to us and we acknowledge them to be good and valid, and that the Conestogoe or Susquehannah Indians had a right to sell those lands to you, for they were then theirs, but since that time we have conquered them, and their country now belongs to us, and the Lands we demanded satisfaction for, are no part of the lands comprized in those deeds."

[99]Hills, *History of the Church in Burlington, New Jersey*, p. 27.

[100]Foley, Collectanea, Part the First, p. 335.

[101]Hughes, Text, Vol. 2, p. 682.

[102]*Records of American Catholic Historical Society*, Vol. 60, p. 125 seq.

* * *

A JESUIT PRIEST'S PRAYER

Dear Jesus, have mercy on me again and grant me the grace always to be sincerely sorry for all my sins; always to obtain pardon for all my sins; always to avoid all deliberate sins the rest of my life; always to overcome all semi-deliberate sins that might offend God, dishonor the Immaculate Heart of Mary and harm souls; always to love You with all my heart; always to love Mary Immaculate with all my heart; always to love all mankind with all my heart by doing all I can now and the rest of my life and after my death to help all mankind love You forever; always to be a holy Jesuit priest and apostle of Your Most Sacred Heart and of the Immaculate Heart of Mary; always to do the holy will of God perfectly; always to say Mass well daily; always to make my spiritual exercises well; always to make my particular examen well; always to do penance well and to take recreation well; always to think and choose and say and do and suffer what You want me to in the way You want me to; always to choose what will better help me be a holy Jesuit priest forever; always to be attentive to and obedient to and grateful for the inspirations of divine grace; always to give and receive the Sacraments well; always to receive You well daily in Holy Communion, to receive You well often in Spiritual Communion; to receive extreme unction well and Holy Viaticum well when I am dying. And I humbly beg these same graces or similar graces for all the rest of mankind for the greater glory of God, the honor of Mary Immaculate, the salvation and sanctification of souls, and for all the intentions ever commended to my prayers. Amen.

PAUL E. DENT, S.J.

SOCIAL EXPERIMENT ON THE PARANA

F. Rawle Haig, S.J.

With the expulsion of the Society of Jesus from the Spanish territories in 1767 there came to an end a great experiment in concrete philosophy. For approximately a century and a half Jesuit missionaries had been striving to Christianize a barbarous people and to create among them a Catholic social order. It was a supremely arduous, heartbreaking, yet glorious attempt. It is a story eminently worthy of our consideration.

Preliminary Notions

The Spanish avalanche began its tumultuous advance down the South American continent in December of 1531 when Pizarro launched his spectacular attack on the Inca empire of Peru. By 1533 Atahualpa, last of the Inca monarchs, was dead and the Conquistadores, richer by the fifteen million dollars that was to have been his ransom, had entered Cuzco in triumph.

But the Spaniard never forgot that one of his chief purposes in coming to America was the spread of the Faith of Christ. Conquest and colcnization might proceed rapidly, but never far behind and often far in advance of the iron-armored soldiery would go the missionary: Franciscan, Dominican, Capuchin, and Jesuit.[1]

Native tradition had it that a white man had once passed through South America teaching the people the sign of the cross and promising some day to send them missionaries. Strange as the legend may sound, nevertheless the fact remains that many traits of the ancient Peruvian religions bore considerable resemblances to Christianity.[2] Some Peruvian Indians, for example, were not unacquainted with incense, processions, and the monastic life. Early missionaries found the parallels so close that they imagined the Indians must indeed have received Christian instruction at some time in the past. Therefore their conversion was more of a "leading back" to something already known than a turning to something new. The Indian missions all over South America consequently became known as reductions.

Beginnings

In 1587, Alonso Guerra, Franciscan bishop of Asunción, asked the Jesuits to help evangelize the savage tribes of Paraguay. In the sixteenth century the name Paraguay denoted the entire southern half of the continent from Bolivia to the extreme tip. Actually, of the thirty reductions of "Paraguay," only seven were in the present country of that name.[3] The remaining were located in northern Argentina and southern Brazil.

The three Fathers who answered the call of the bishop worked heroically for several years but with little success. For a moment the Jesuits hesitated, wondering if it might not be better to give up a project which they had not the men to accomplish. In 1607, however, Father Diego de Torres returned from Rome with an appointment as provincial of the new Province of Paraguay which Father General Aquaviva had determined to erect. Any hesitancy was over.

Several factors urged the Fathers to the foundation of the reductions along the Paraná and Uruguay rivers. The Spanish conquerors had aroused the hatred of the Indians by their unbridled cruelty. The attitude of the conqueror was most clearly evinced in the institution of the *encomiendas* and the *servitium personale*, a social order strongly reminiscent of European feudalism but much more severe. Philip III, however, in an effort to help the missionaries, had explicitly exempted the Indians of the reductions from such treatment.[4]

Another factor determining the establishment of the reductions was the notoriously bad example of the colonists. Just as Xavier in India had found the Portuguese traders his worst enemies, so too in the early days of South America the missionaries found it impossible to counteract the demoralizing influence of many of the whites.[5] The reductions of Peru, for instance, had been brought to ruin by the presence of Spanish colonists.[6] Consequently the Jesuits were quite satisfied to build separate Indian villages at a considerable distance from the white invaders.

To convince the Indians to found and settle in the reductions was a hazardous and difficult task. The missionary, accompanied by some friendly native *caciques* (chiefs), would

journey to the prospective tribe, call a meeting of the Indian leaders, and describe the advantages of establishing a separate village where the food supply would be secure, where their children could be educated by the Fathers,[7] and where they could learn of the gospel of Christ. Sometimes the Christian Indians alone went out and attempted to persuade their non-Christian brothers to come back with them. It was a "touch-and-go" business in which twenty-nine Jesuit missionaries lost their lives for the Faith.

The Jesuits used the reduction technique in many sections of South America, establishing in all approximately one hundred.[8] The most famous, however, are the thirty of Paraguay with which we are dealing.

Trials and Successes

Most tragic of the external conditions that "fostered" the growth of the reductions were the slave raids. The Portuguese had settled to the north of Paraguay around São Paulo. From there they sent out raiding parties into the interior in search of Indians who might be brought back to be sold as slaves. Beginning in 1618 the *Mamelucos* or *Paulistas* (they were called both) began penetrating into the area of the Jesuit reductions. The Indians flocked to the reductions for protection while the Jesuit missionaries sent out plea after plea for help to the Spanish officials. No help was forthcoming. In fact it appears that there was no little connivance between the Spanish officials and the Portuguese slave traders.[9]

The losses of the reductions were heartrending. Over thirty thousand Indians were kidnapped from the reductions of Guayrá from 1628 to 1630 alone. The missionaries first attempted to meet the threat by moving whole reductions south to be out of the reach of the *Paulistas*. When this expedient failed, the Jesuits took the one measure left to them and under mandate of the King began the formation of an Indian army. When the *Paulistas* returned in 1639, the Indians, under Spanish leadership, were waiting. At Caazapaguazú they met and broke the raiding party. The *Paulistas* tried once more in 1641 and this time met complete disaster at Mbororé. They did not return again in force for over a hundred years.

Successively forced to defend themselves against the Spanish

encomienderos who desired to enslave them, against nuisance raids by the *Mamelucos,* and against attacks from neighboring hostile tribes, the reductions maintained themselves nonetheless in relative prosperity. While the native population was being exterminated on all sides, the Guaraní, the nation involved in the reductions, continued to increase. Only one power was to prove strong enough to crush them, that of intrigue at the court of Madrid. But before turning to the tragic close of the Jesuit reductions, it will be profitable to consider them in themselves.

Social Organization of the Missions

In the government of the missions the Jesuits followed two principles, one that of *Las Leyes de las Indias,* the admirable Spanish Indian code adopted in 1680 which decreed that native villages should be ruled, as far as possible, as Spanish towns,[10] and the other a general principle of not demanding a change from native procedures except where absolutely necessary.

Each reduction therefore was set up physically and governmentally like a Spanish *pueblo.* In the center was a large square flanked by the church, residence of the Fathers, schools, hospital, and long, communal dwellings of the Guaraní laid out in a straight-line pattern coverging on the *plaza.*[11]

The government, while under the supervision of at least two missionaries stationed at each reduction, was carried out by the native *caciques.* The native head of the mission, the *corregidor,* was chosen for life by the missionary and approved by the Spanish governor of the province. The council, or *cabildo,* was elected each year by the outgoing council and similarly approved by the missionary and governor. It consisted of two *alcaldes,* administrators of justice, an *alférez real* or royal standard bearer, and *regidores* who were the subordinate police officials of the little village.[12]

It is the economic organization of the missions, however, which has aroused the most interest. From old tribal customs the reductions inherited a strong socialistic flavoring which the Fathers were unable and, to an extent, did not desire to change.[13]

In accordance therefore with Guaraní traditions and in keeping with the necessities of tropical life, land was held in common. Given into the charge of the *caciques,* it was apportioned by them to the individual families. This plot of land (*abamba*) could not be sold and the *alcaldes* saw to it that each family worked hard enough to produce an immediate sufficiency for itself and a surplus to be stored for its personal use during the winter months. These stores were bagged, marked with the family's name, and kept in common granaries. Such a procedure was necessary to ensure that the naturally improvident Indians would have food during the winter months and in case of famine.

The *tupamba* (God's acre) was a piece of communally tilled land whose produce was used to pay officials, support the poor of the mission, and alleviate want wherever it occurred. Cattle were also held in common, for the Fathers never succeeded in convincing the Indians to raise and care for their own. Meat, therefore, which was the common staple of the Indian diet, came from the common slaughterhouses. The Indians raised on their own land maize, manioc, cotton, wheat, rice, tobacco, and fruit.

Most important of all the products of the reductions, however, was *mate,* a South American tea. Only toward the close of the missions did the Fathers succeed in cultivating the plant within the confines of the village *huerta* (orchard). Most of the time the Indians had to go out and collect the leaves of the plant in the midst of the jungle under conditions of hardship and danger.

Strangely enough, *mate* was the substitute used by the missionaries to seduce the Indians away from their notorious habits of drunkenness.[14] Periodically the Indians used to go off on three-day sprees using a type of native liquor made from corn or honey. The Fathers would first convince them to cut down the orgies to two days, then one day, and finally, after about two years of such cajolery, the custom would die out completely. Instead the Indians took *mate!*

As the Guaraní were particularly adept at manual trades, the German lay brothers who came to aid the Spaniards soon trained the Indians as expert craftsmen—carpenters, blacksmiths, painters, dyers, instrument makers, artists, and bookbinders. These latter helped the missionaries to care for the

nine thousand volumes, a thousand of them in Guaraní, found in the missions at the expulsion of the Jesuits. The size of these libraries gives some indication of the vast amount of scientific observation and research that the Jesuits performed while working among the Indians. Their achievement is acknowledged by modern ethnologists.[15]

The Jesuits of course made no secret of the fact that the reductions were pure theocracies. The day began with Mass. The workers went to the fields singing religious songs. The feast days were celebrated with a brilliance characteristic of Indian tastes. And lest it be thought that this manner of life was forced on the Indians, one need only recall that the missions averaged three thousand Indians and *two* Jesuits. Yet never once did the Indians rebel against the Jesuit supervision.

The Close of the Missions

Never once, that is, until the "behind-the-scenes" political forces at Madrid set the wheels in motion to crush the Jesuits and to destroy their work. And even then it was to protect the Fathers that the Indians rebelled.

In 1750 Ferdinand VI signed a secret treaty with Portugal handing over to her the territory of the seven reductions on the left bank of the Uruguay in exchange for the disputed colony of San Sacramento at the Uruguay's mouth.

The missionaries were stunned. The treaty meant that the thirty thousand Indians on those reductions would have to leave their homes and emigrate to the other side of the Uruguay. Despite all the Fathers could do, the Indians rebelled, refused to permit the Jesuits to leave the reductions, and took the field in the tragic War of the Seven Reductions. They were defeated of course with terrible losses. The remnants crossed the river with the Fathers and attempted to begin again.

In 1759 Ferdinand VI died and Charles III became king. Within two years he abrogated the Treaty of 1750 and fifteen thousand Indians returned to their old homes. But the damage had been done. Now the enemies of the Jesuits could always whisper that the Jesuits had urged on the Indians to rebellion out of a desire for personal power and kingdom.[16] Charles III gradually weakened until finally he set his seal to the de-

cree of expulsion of the Jesuits from Spanish America (1767).

Bucareli, Spanish governor of the region, waited for a year to execute the order until he could gather substitutes for the missionaries.[17] Then he came, troops and all—a singularly futile gesture since, if the Indians did not resist, the troops would be useless, and if they did, the handful of soldiery could never have stood against them.

The reductions did not recover from the blow. Franciscans attempted to replace the Jesuits but the missions gradually decayed until they were totally abandoned early in the nineteenth century. Today only ruins remain.

Thus ended the Society's most famous and successful social experiment. Catholics are often upbraided for dealing only in abstractions and for merely mouthing moral inanities strictly divorced from reality. Here is one example of a group of Catholics face to face with a supremely difficult situation who found within the riches of Catholic social doctrine the answer they needed.

NOTES

[1]Edwin Ryan, D.D., *The Church in the South American Republics.* (Westminister, Md.: The Newman Book Shop. 1943), p. 31.

[2]*Ibid.*, p. 32.

[3]Pablo Hernández, S.J., *Organización Social de las Doctrinas Guaraníes.* (Barcelona: Gustavo Gili. 1913), Vol. I, p. 1f.

[4]"*He tenido por bien que los que se redujeren de nuevo a nuestra santa fe Catolica . . . no se cobre tributo por tiempo de diez años, ni se encomienden.*" ("I have considered it expedient that those who return again to our holy Catholic Faith (i.e., the Indians. See page 1.) should not pay tribute for a period of ten years nor should they be placed on *encomiendas.*" Translation, the author's) Cédula real of Jan. 30, 1607, as given in Hernández, *op cit.*, Vol. I, p. 511.

[5]James Brodrick, S.J., *Saint Francis Xavier.* (New York: The Wicklow Press. 1952), pp. 203, 206-7.

[6]*Cath. Encyc.*, Vol. XII, p. 696, column 2.

[7]This was a particularly strong inducement for the Guaraní. See Hernández, *op. cit.*, p. 389f. The complete story of how the Indians were persuaded to form reductions is also in Hernández, *ibid.*, pp. 383-405.

[8]*Cath. Encyc.*, Vol. XII, p. 690, column 2.

[9]Hernández, *ibid.*, p. 17.

[10]Webster and Hussey, *History of Latin America.* (Boston: D. C. Heath & Co., 1941), p. 103.

[11]Cf. the diagrams of several missions given in Hernández, *ibid.*, facing p. 106.

[12]Alfred Métraux, "Jesuit Missions in South America," *Handbook of South American Indians.* Julian Steward, editor. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1944), p. 648.

[13]*Ibid.*, p. 652f., where Métraux gives an impartial evaluation of Jesuit collectivism. His whole account is generally reliable but also repeats some of the strange motions once held about the missions, i.e., the use of force to persuade some Indians to join the missions and a special "spy system" composed of children. Unfortunately he gives no documentation. For a documented account confer Hernández, *op. cit.*, pp. 90-97 and 308-405. In respect to the children even the *Catholic Encyclopedia* (Vol. XII, p. 693, column 1.) has the odd notion that they ate their morning and evening meals in common in the college courtyard. Of course, they ate at home. Hernández, *op. cit.*, p. 92.

[14]Hernández, *op. cit.*, pp. 73-5.

[15]Métraux, *op. cit.*, p. 645.

[16]*Cath. Encyc., ibid.*, p. 699, column 1.

[17]Hernández, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

* * *

Vineyard of Latin America

The formation of the clergy in Latin America is for the most part in the hands of our Fathers. At Rome, to begin with, in the Brazilian College and the "Pio Latino Americano" there are a total of 243 seminarians from South America. In the national Mexican Seminary at Montezuma, U.S.A., there are 360 theologians and philosophers. Our Fathers run the Counciliar Seminary in Guatemala, in Ecuador the minor Seminary of Cuenca with 40 seminarians, and in San Salvador the central major Seminary with 193 seminarians.

In Venezuela, the Society takes care of the major archdiocesan Seminary of Caracas where there are at present 32 Theologians, 24 Philosophers, and 62 in classical studies, and also the minor Seminary of Coro. Colombia sends seminarians to our University of St. Francis Xavier at Bogotá, and Jesuits run the minor Seminary in El Mortiño (125 students).

In Brazil, the largest country of South America, Jesuits direct the Central Seminary of São Leopoldo where there are 127 Theologians and 184 Philosophers, and also minor seminaries in Cerro Largo (97 students) and Santa Maria (180 students).

Argentina boasts a Jesuit-directed major seminary at Buenos Aires with 188 seminarians and a minor seminary with 141 students. The minor seminaries in Chile (474 students), Uruguay (40 students), and Porto Rico (98 students), the major seminaries in the Dominican Republic with 162 seminarians, and Uruguay with 77, complete the list of Jesuit-directed diocesan seminaries in Latin America.

In all almost 3000 seminarians are being prepared for the South American apostolate under the direction of Jesuits.

ÉCHOS: August 1952

HISTORICAL NOTES

ARCHAEOLOGY SERVES HISTORY

Excavations at Fort Ste Marie and at St. Ignace, near Midland, Ontario

On the feast of the Patronage of St. Joseph in 1940 the ruins of old Fort Ste Marie at Martyrs' Shrine near Midland, Ontario, passed once more into the hands of the Society of Jesus, and since the Summer of 1941 the site has been the scene of painstaking archaeological investigation whose chief aim has been the redraft of the plans of the buildings and the determining of the form and shape of the various walls and palisades that made up the ancient residence of St. Mary-on-the-Wye. At first consideration it might seem a hopeless task. The fort had been dismantled and the missionaries had carried away with them everything that could be made use of in furnishing and building the new fort on Christian Island, and whatever was left was given over to the flames lest it serve as a shelter to the Iroquois. Only a charred ruin remained in the Summer of 1649; and season after season, three centuries of rain and wind and frost have worn to dust all but the masonry of its towers and fireplaces. Two forces have been at work protecting the ruin; the accumulation of fallen leaves and the grassy sod have helped to cover the nakedness of the ruin, but on the other hand the disrupting roots of trees and underbrush have conspired to pry asunder the very stones of wall and chimney. One hundred years ago the early settlers ploughed up the level plots to make their garden; only the rough, irregular rectangle between the four stony mounds that once were towers was left undisturbed.

Twice during the last century the ruins have been visited and examined by members of the Jesuit Order. In 1844, just two years after their return to Canada, Father Pierre Chazelle, S.J., made a special trip to locate the ruins, and eleven years later, Father Felix Martin, S.J., made an expedition to examine them in greater detail. "The four corner

bastions," he wrote, "stood four to six feet high." It was before the days of photography so he sketched the ruins in water colours and drew up a detailed ground plan of the fort as he believed it to have been before its destruction. Father Martin's diagram has proved both a help and a hindrance to subsequent students. The measurements and description of what he actually saw have been a help in trying to revisualize the fort as it stood in the eighteen-fifties, but since he had few facilities for investigating below the surface and the remains of the charred beams had long become buried, his conjectures and deductions have led those who followed him to many false conclusions, notably with regard to the extent of the old fort and the moat system he professed to describe in detail.

Relying on the accuracy of Father Martin's plan the Jesuit Fathers invited the technicians of the Royal Ontario Museum (which is subsidiary to the University of Toronto) to undertake the excavation of the plot between the four bastions, believing this to be the entire fort. Dr. H. J. Cody was then president of the University and Dr. C. T. Currelly, director of the Museum—both of these gentlemen took a personal interest in the work. Mr. Kenneth Kidd, ethnologist at the Museum was placed in charge of the field party. He came to the task with practical experience derived from excavation work in Egypt and exploration of Indian sites in Algonquin Park. Assisting Mr. Kidd were Mr. J. H. Classey, in surveying and measuring; Miss W. Needler, egyptologist at the Museum, in recording and photographing; the late Miss L. Payne, in cataloguing; and Misses B. Maw and M. Thompson. All of these were technicians of the Museum Staff whose services were graciously contributed by the University for the project. Two Jesuit Fathers worked with them at different times: Father John McCaffrey, now rector of Loyola College, Montreal, and Father Daniel Hourigan, the writer of the present article, then parish priest of Waubaushene. The Martyrs' Shrine provided the services of five or six workmen to cut the trees, do the heavier digging and push the wheel-barrows. The work consumed two summers, 1941 and 1942. In 1942 the war effort curtailed such non-

essential projects and Mr. Kidd finished what little work remained almost singlehanded.

The report on the excavations has been published by Mr. Kidd in a handsome 250-page volume printed by the University of Toronto Press. Much of the report is necessarily technical, but there are in addition to the forty maps and drawings in the text, fifty pages of beautiful plates illustrating the work at various stages and showing samples of the masonry and specimens of the iron and brass objects discovered.

Accurate measurements and exact description are the hallmark of scholarship, but for the uninitiated the conclusions drawn from the data discovered are of greater interest. When the loose stone and soil accumulation of three centuries were removed, the four bastion towers stood out prominently. The great twin towers on the east were twenty-five feet square and still stood three to four feet high. The southwestern tower was smaller, about fifteen feet square. The northwestern tower was found to be quite irregular and its remains were in poor condition. While the other three displayed first-class masonry, it seemed to be almost a dry stone wall (without mortar) and it was judged improbable that it ever bore any considerable super-structure. The inner corners of the eastern bastions were connected by a stone wall, and halfway between them was a seven-foot break—probably the main gateway of the fort. The charred wooden sill was still in position. Between the northern bastions there was also a wall, unbroken seemingly by any gateway, but there was a channel or covered ditch which passed underneath the wall, bringing flowing water into the enclosure. These walls were "probably in Jesuit times supplied with wooden super-structures. No defense work was found along the south except the moat."

Within the compound were found three stone fireplaces, one of them adjoining the northwest bastion. Its chimney had been partly of brick and its hearth was unusually long and shallow. Another fireplace, the greatest, was centrally located and faced the west. It showed signs of having been used more than the others. The third fireplace was some twenty-five feet farther south. It was a double fireplace,

the two hearths having a common flue between them. There were at least two buildings: the northerly one, about twenty feet by thirty, was thought to have been the chapel. It was connected to the northwest bastion by a narrow doorway beside the fireplace. The latter was built almost all the way across the northern end of this building. Some of the charred floor supports were still in position, while large, flat stones irregularly placed, seemed to have supported sills that had long since disappeared. There were many nails in this area—on the whole site some thirteen hundred nails were found, varying in length from one-half inch to eight inches. There were no objects found in this building that definitely established it as a chapel, but we must bear in mind that the fort had been dismantled and everything useful was carried off to Christian Island.

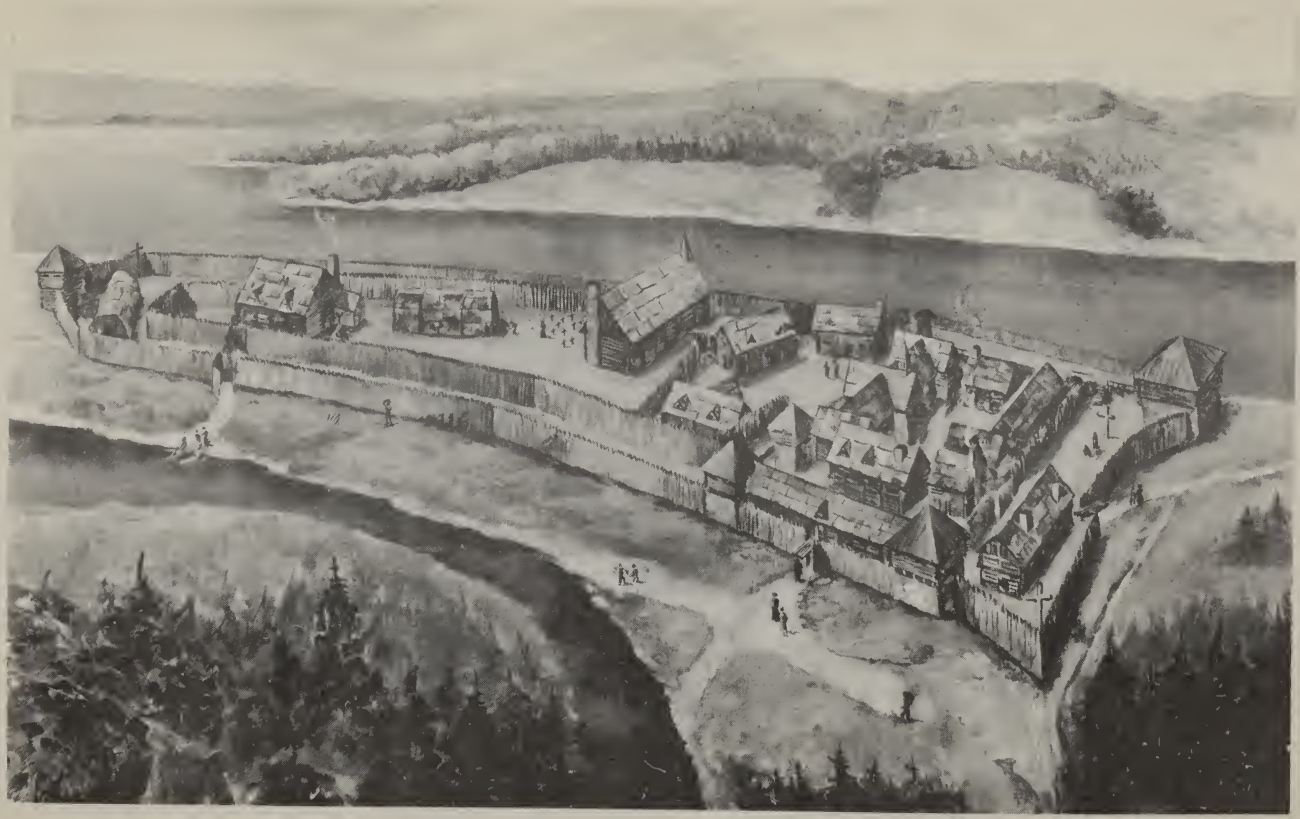
The other building within the enclosure was about twice as large and was divided into rooms; the fireplaces facing different directions led to that conclusion. This building was thought to be the Fathers' living quarters and was probably two storeys in height. The main chimney had been a tall one, perhaps about twenty-eight feet in height, a rough estimate, for we suspect that much of the loose fallen stone had already been carried away.

One of the most interesting tasks in which the present writer helped was the careful examination of what was left of the charred wooden flooring that extended in front of the great hearth. It was one of the best preserved sections of flooring that we found. In the cracks between the boards we found a little section of a rosary; this seemed an intimate link with the seventeenth century occupants of the central residence of St. Mary among the Hurons. Near the same place several coloured beads were found and also a few charred grains of corn and beans that had lodged in the cracks of the flooring and had been calcinated when the fort was burnt.

Almost in front of the main hearth was one of the most puzzling finds. There was a box-like pit about thirty inches long and two feet deep. At the bottom were the remains of two wide boards that once covered its floor; a large six-inch iron hook was once fastened to them. Technically such a little

chamber is called a cyst. In his report Mr. Kidd says: "There is no indication as to its use, but it is possible that it was a sort of cooling cellar for perishables and that the tray (he believes that the two boards were once a tray) was for raising and lowering them into the pit." Others have thought that it may have been used for a more important purpose, as a safe storage place (comparatively fire-proof) for books and documents. The Indians were of such an inquisitive nature that few places were safe from their meddlesome fingers. The room with the great hearth was probably seldom empty, and hence this place beneath its floor would be as safe as any, for anything that was highly prized. When the cyst was first discovered (the day before the feast of the Martyrs, 1941), we thought it might be the place where their precious bones were once hidden away after the fall of St. Ignace.

Near the residence but to the west was made another significant religious find, the little silver medal of SS. Ignatius and Francis Xavier. The silver was quite black, but the inscription was as legible as the day the metal was struck. It was oval in shape and about an inch long, and had a little projecting flange at the top for cord or pin. One face bore the bust of St. Ignatius; he is dressed in a Roman cloak with a high stiff collar; he wears a sort of halo and is facing right with hands clasped before a crucifix at eye level. Around the rim is a Latin inscription in customary abbreviations which, translated, reads: "Blessed Ignatius Loyola, Architect (*auctor*) and Founder of the Society of Jesus." On the reverse is a similar representation of St. Francis Xavier. He too has a halo but is facing the left towards a radiant sun, and his hands are crossed on his breast. The translation of his inscription runs: "Francis Xavier of the Society of Jesus, Missionary (*praedicator*) to the Indies and Japan." These two Saints had been recently canonized when the medal was lost three hundred years ago. Beyond doubt the medal once belonged to one of the missionaries, or at least to one of the French lay-helpers (*donnés*) on the mission. St. Ignatius, not yet one hundred years dead, had drafted the rule of life that they were following, and St. Francis Xavier, best known perhaps of St. Ignatius' first companions, was the young Society's first great missionary.



Artist's conception of Fort Ste Marie (1639-1649), based on archaeological discoveries at Midland, Ontario

Was there at one time a little chapel in the southwest bastion? In it was found a little sanctuary bell, made of iron and shaped like a half orange. Its little clapper was missing but the fastener was still there. The ground floor of this bastion, about twelve feet square, had only one door and that on the north side, hence within the compound, and would have served as a quiet little chapel for private Masses; there were sometimes twenty priests at the residence when they gathered from their mission centers.

We would have to duplicate Mr. Kidd's report if we were to enumerate and describe all the interesting specimens discovered. The beautiful vase of venetian glass that appears as the frontispiece of his book was painstakingly reconstructed from its many fragments found in the diggings. There were all told some forty thousand different items catalogued, many of them, however, mere bone fragments or bits of hardware, such as nails, clamps and broken tools; among the latter were thirty-eight broken axes. "Since Europeans in the wilderness would prize their axes above most other possessions and take good care of them, the damage shown on so many specimens argues strongly for Indian use." There were also finer household articles, scissors, a silver needle case with the remains of three needles, a thimble, a padlock, several keys, even a small iron corkscrew! Between the Fathers' living quarters and the southwest bastion were the remains of a forge, and around it were found many nails and fragments of iron scrap.

On the whole the results of the first part of the excavation were at once gratifying and disillusioning. Gratifying, in as much as we felt that whatever lay hidden had been brought to light and that every secret of the fort's remains had been investigated and put on record for all time. But at the same time we had, unreasonably perhaps, hoped for more. In our ignorance and inexperience we thought that the exact ground plan of every building would be brought to light and we would be able to reconstruct the picture in still greater detail. We will be forever indebted to the University of Toronto, to the Royal Ontario Museum and to Mr. Kidd for the accurate, painstaking investigation of the first section of old Fort Ste Marie.

Post-War Period

During the latter years of the late World War, the excavations at the old fort were at a standstill. Though we would gladly have explored the area outside the European compound, as it was called, the means of doing so were lacking. It was impossible to engage men to do work that did not contribute to the war effort, and so once again the grass began to grow over the recently uncovered ruin.

As the war tension eased and labour and building supplies became available it was deemed advisable to make some beginning of the restoration of the Fort which would be a token, at least, of what we hoped ultimately to do. This seemed the more imperative since 1949 was the tercentenary year of the deaths of the Martyrs and would focus attention on the Fort which had been their home. The Fathers realized that the work of research and excavation was incomplete, but they felt that some units, the bastion towers, for instance, had been thoroughly examined and that their restoration would not interfere with further work on other parts of the fort. Great quantities of stone had been set aside during the excavation—stone that had fallen during the centuries from higher parts which have long since disappeared—and with this stone the three most regular bastions were rebuilt to a height of fourteen feet under the direction of Mr. Lindsay Wardell, architect, of Toronto. The old walls were not solid enough to bear the weight of a superstructure and yet it seemed a crime to demolish masonry that had survived three hundred years, so the new bastions were built outside the old. Hence within them may be seen the original walls just as they remained in 1947 and they are thus preserved for all time for future generations to revere. The cornerstone of the restored northeast bastion was blessed on September 8 by His Eminence Cardinal McGuigan in the presence of their Eminences Cardinal Griffin of England and Cardinal Gilroy of Australia, and laid by acting Premier Leslie Frost one month later.

Considerable uncertainty remained about the type of beams to be used on top of the bastions and the exact shape of the roof that should cover them. Not wishing to take any steps that future research might prove to be incorrect, Very Rev-

erend Father Provincial and Father Lally, Director of the Martyrs' Shrine since 1928, decided to call a round-table conference of recognized authorities on architecture of that period and others, in order to reach a decision that would be as accurate as the pooled wisdom of experts could insure. The meeting was held at the Shrine on November 18, 1948, and the following took part in the discussion: Very Reverend Father Nunan, acting provincial during the absence of Father Swain in India; Dr. Marius Barbeau, anthropologist and archivist of the National Museum of Ottawa; Mr. C. W. Jefferys, Canadian artist and historian; Mr. Kenneth Kidd, ethnologist at the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto; Mr. Wilfrid Jury, curator of the Museum of Western University, London; Mr. Lindsay Wardell, architect, Toronto; Father J. S. McGivern, S.J., historian and perhaps the greatest living authority on the *Jesuit Relations*; Father Lally and his assistant, Father Fallon. The minutes of this meeting were never published, but the policy adopted was that of prudent waiting, lest by some too hasty decision something might be introduced into the restoration which would later be proved an anachronism or not in harmony with the newer discoveries that were then being made.

In the meantime attention was drawn to another site intimately connected with the fort—St. Ignace II where the martyrdom of Brebeuf and Lalemant took place. The descriptions of the place left in the *Relations* had so far not been sufficient to identify the site. The eminent archaeologist Father Arthur Jones, S.J., had, at the beginning of the century, chosen one location which he thought verified the descriptions given and a shrine had been built there in 1907, but with the years the conviction grew that it was not the St. Ignace of the *Relations*. It was undoubtedly an Indian village site but not the one described by Father Ragueneau. The names of Thomas Connon of Goderich, Alphonse Arpin of Midland, Mr. W. J. Wintemberg of the National Museum of Ottawa, Dr. Sherwood Fox, then president of Western University, London, are all connected with the continued search for a site that would verify the known factors from the *Relations*: two league distance (about six miles) from Ste Marie, one league from Fort St. Louis and in the same direction, and the site itself,

a plateau capable of containing a village of seven hundred and surrounded on three sides by a deep ravine with a narrow level entrance in the east. The data seemed quite definite and yet in that hilly district there was more than one tongue of land that seemed to satisfy the conditions. The search narrowed considerably when Mr. Wintemberg identified the post molds of the ancient palisade around the site on the Hamilton farm in the summers of 1937 and 1938. His discovery is reported in the book *St. Ignace* by Dr. Fox (page 96):

> Traces of the palisades consisting of round humus-filled cavities, from two to four inches in diameter, and about two or three feet deep, formed by the decay of the posts, and which were much softer than the surrounding soil, were found to extend almost clear around a ten-acre field. Even the gateway of the stockade was traced. To find these, the top soil covering the fine yellow sand had to be removed and the post molds uncovered one by one, each mold being marked by a wooden stake as soon as it was located so that its position could be measured and marked on a map. In many cases the molds were at regular intervals, and from one to about two feet apart, and they followed the irregular outline of the hill on which the site is situated.

Mr. Wintemberg died in April, 1941 before his notes were published. Dr. Fox interested the curator of his University's Museum, Mr. Wilfrid Jury, in the task and it was his work of plotting the positions of twenty-six long houses on the site in 1946 that removed the last lingering doubts from the minds of all—St. Ignace II lay on the corner of the Hamilton farm.

How did Mr. Jury carry on his investigation? Let us quote from Dr. Fox's book (page 101):

> Mr. Jury sank trenches that cut through the once cultivated sand down to the subsoil. The bottoms of the trenches, when slightly scraped, revealed here and there the gray imprints left by the decayed ends of posts. Probing these imprints downward to their very tips he ascertained that the posts had been buried in the ground to depths varying between eighteen and thirty inches. In conformity with regular Indian practice the point of each post had been burnt into the form of a sharp cone. Throughout the site the charred coatings of such points, which have resisted decay, are clearly discernible in the outlines of house walls and palisades. The diameters of such molds range between four and eight inches.

The next season Mr. Jury turned his attention to the site of

Teanaostaie, where St. Anthony Daniel had been martyred. A monument had been erected at the place traditionally believed to be the location of the ancient village (about one-half mile southwest of the church of Mount St. Louis and about fourteen miles from Fort Ste Marie). By careful research Mr. Jury proved conclusively that it was merely the site of a pre-Christian village. This he did by showing the abundance of Indian objects in the soil and the absence of articles of French manufacture, and by demonstrating that the palisaded area was too small to house a village of two thousand souls. Then he located another site, about a mile nearer the fort, within sight of Mount St. Louis Church, which gave abundant evidence of French occupation, knives and tools that could have come only from the missionaries. This village was much larger than the former and was better provided with a supply of water. In these investigations Father J. S. McGivern, S.J., an earnest student of Huronia, collaborated with Mr. Jury, putting at his disposal his intimate knowledge of the *Jesuit Relations*.

It was not until 1948 that Mr. Jury came to Fort Ste Marie where the University of Western Ontario graciously allowed him to devote his time to archaeological research. Kind friends enabled Father Lally to provide him with helpers: the curator's devoted wife, Mrs. Elsie Jury, as secretary; Mr. Fraser Metcalfe, a student from Western University, as draftsman and cartographer; Paul Buchanan, a high school boy and several workmen, engaged as circumstances permitted. Two Jesuits, Father James McGivern and Father Dennis Hegarty, late chaplain with the Canadian Army, have both devoted considerable time to the project under Mr. Jury's direction. Dr. Yaroslav Pasternak, Ph.D., an archaeologist from Lwow and Bonn Universities, whose published works in his field have won him a European reputation, also helped Mr. Jury throughout one season. Many of the guests at the Martyrs' Shrine Inn, both clerical and lay, have profited by the opportunity of working under Mr. Jury's guidance, at this important task. And during the Summer of 1950 a Summer School of Indian Archaeology was held at the Shrine with an enrollment of twenty students, many of them school teachers anxious to learn how history can be read from

ashes and post molds as from documents left by our forebears.

Mr. Jury is a man of extensive experience in his own field. He has made Indian archaeology the hobby of his lifetime. He first learned the elements of it from his venerable old father who paid a visit to the old fort and charmed everyone by the keen interest he showed in his son's work. Fairfield, Ontario, near London, was the site of an important Neutral village where Mr. Jury's research won for him recognition by the scientific world. Mr. Jury displays an almost intuitive flair for interpreting contours and soil formation, and in reading soil markings he enjoys a national reputation. The results of his work have not as yet been completed and as a consequence are not yet available in summarized report form, but so far they have exceeded our hopes in ascertaining the dimensions of the fort buildings and in locating the long sought for cemetery.

One of the most gratifying features of Mr. Jury's excavations has been the proof of the greater area of the establishment. Instead of being limited to the part we had learned to call the European compound (the area of fifteen thousand square feet enclosed by the bastions), it was established that there were palisades on the north and south running to the river bank where there had been twin timber bastions, corresponding to the two great stone bastions on the eastern front. This area was eighty thousand square feet or about five times larger than the former calculation. When trenches had been sunk the soil markings of the post molds were plainly visible even to an inexperienced eye and in some places shreds of the cedar posts were still in the soil.

When the outline of this large new section had been determined, its interior was carefully examined. This part of the property had been under cultivation for a number of years and the top soil had been turned again and again, but beneath this disturbed soil evidence was uncovered of buildings that once surrounded a central court. Their doorways were discerned and the five cellars beneath several of them were excavated. In one of these cellars were found two little objects of note: a much corroded but still recognizable little hook such as would be used on a Jesuit cassock, and a little phial of pale green Venetian glass. This little flagon, about five

inches tall, has a very pleasing shape and may well have been a Mass cruet.

Besides the post molds that indicated the structures built around the open court there was another set, not in alignment with any of the above, that outlined a sizeable long house. This was thought to be Ste Marie's first building in 1639, an Indian-style lodge or long house built near the riverbank and at an angle to it. The presence of some tree or trees may have determined the axis of the long house. Because this primitive house was later demolished to make way for later construction, the details of its structure are not as evident as those of the later and more permanent buildings erected by the French workmen probably around 1645-46.

In one of these buildings, the one on the south side of the inner court, a piece of masonry was brought to light which has proved one of the many enigmas to which no definitive solution has been found. It is described by Mr. Jury in the *Midland Free Press Herald*:

> The stonework is shaped like a flattened capital *H*. The horizontal bar joining the two uprights is much longer than the uprights themselves. The outside measurement is fourteen feet in length and the uprights are nine feet nine inches. The thickness of both uprights and crossbar are two and one half feet. The length of the crossbar between the uprights is ten feet five inches. This stone foundation must have been built to carry a substantial upper structure, since it is four feet in depth and solid enough to carry a house wall today, though three hundred years have elapsed since its construction. Its meaning has not yet been determined.

The hypothesis that it might have been the base of a double fireplace was ruled out since there was no evidence that the well-tooled stones that formed it had ever been subjected to heat and there was no evidence either of ash in the immediate vicinity. Mr. Jury is inclined to think that it was the foundation of an altar, perhaps of a double altar like the papal altar in St. Peter's where Mass can be said at either or both sides; others have preferred to search further for a solution. Some army officers from a neighboring camp offered the suggestion that it may have been the foundation of the belfry or bell tower. We know that there was a large bell at Ste Marie which was later taken to the new fort on Christian Island.

Pieces of it have been found there; one segment is in the Shrine Museum. Such a large bell would need a solid turret in which to hang and the scaffolding may well have required a solid foundation in the shape of that described above.

One impressive feature of the second season's work was the moat or canal which extended west from the south bastions to the river. The source of fresh spring water for the fort had already been traced to a point across the present railway track. The water flowed through a boxed channel or aqueduct whose boards were still in place, under the northern curtain and through the centre of the European compound; and now the heavy hand-hewn planks at the bottom of the great moat seemed to indicate the course the waste water or sewage took on its way to the river. This flume was at a low level so that even in the winter it might be able to function under the ice. The row of cedar posts along the side of the moat were all of equal length and were tipped with black—they had burnt to water level in mid-June three hundred years ago! Other features of the great channel or moat are not equally clear and will bear further study.

On of the most significant discoveries was the existence of a "lock" system by which the level of the water could be raised above that of the river. Hence the canoes could be floated in by an arrangement of triple locks, perhaps the first of its kind in Canada or even North America, according to a prominent civil engineer. The moat or canal contained several hewn-out cedar logs which served as connecting pipes to the river. One of these, about nine feet in length, is considered among the largest and oldest relics of this workmanship in Canada.

In his report of 1855 Father Martin had vaguely indicated that the plot south of the fort as he knew it, was the Indian compound and contained the church, a hospital, and a guest house where transient families might be given shelter. The presence of a stucco house on this part of the property prevented earlier investigation. At the time of sale in 1940 the owners had reserved for themselves ten years' use of this house, but in the Spring of 1950 the lease expired and the house was demolished and the area carefully explored. It yielded the outlines of three buildings which seemed well

adapted for the use suggested in Father Martin's report, namely the church, guest house, and hospital. The largest, thirty-nine feet by seventy-nine, may well have been the church.

But the climax of last season's work, in the estimation of all, was the discovery of the cemetery south of the buildings just described and almost five hundred feet south of the northernmost palisade of the fort. All told, twenty-one graves were opened and examined. The bodies were buried three feet below the surface in the clear white sand (the subsoil elsewhere under the fort is clay). Most of the bodies were buried in coffins about six feet in length. These were seventeen inches wide at the foot and twenty-four inches at the head. Some were square, others rounded. Coffin nails were numerous in the lines of dark gray soil that had been the wood of the coffins. Within the coffins two complete rosaries were identified as well as many odd beads and bits of corroded metal that may have been crosses or medals. In one was a fourteen inch clay pipe! One skeleton held a pair of blue porcelain beads in its hand; this was thought by Dr. Alan Skinner, professor of anatomy at Western University, to have been that of a white man. Now we know from the *Relations* that Donné Jacques Douart was slain on April 28, 1648 and was buried "near the fort."

The over-all picture is necessarily sketchy and will remain so until the excavation has been completed and the data discovered has been coordinated and studied. In the meantime though, and forever after, the Jesuit Fathers will remain indebted to Messrs. Kidd and Jury and all the others who worked with them in this excavation of Fort Ste Marie, for by their discoveries we are able to implement the *Jesuit Relations*, so tantalizingly reticent about the details of the great establishment on the Wye that was the forest home of the seventeenth century Jesuits in Huronia.

Fort Ste Marie will always be dear to Canadians and Americans. It was from Fort Ste Marie that St. Isaac Jogues went in 1642 to Quebec for the last time and later to martyrdom at Auriesville, New York, in 1648. It was from Fort Ste Marie that St. Anthony Daniel went to meet martyrdom at Taenaestaye in 1648 two days after making his annual retreat at Fort

Ste Marie. It was to Fort Ste Marie that the mangled bodies of Saints John de Brebeuf and Gabriel Lalemant were carried for burial after their heroic martyrdom at St. Ignace in 1649. It was from Fort Ste Marie that SS. Charles Garnier and Noel Chabanel left for Christian Island with the other refugees in 1649 after seeing their "Home of Peace" devoured by flames. It was at Fort Ste Marie that the Jesuit Martyrs prayed, meditated and prepared for martyrdom from 1639 to 1649. It is to Martyrs' Shrine at Fort Ste Marie that two hundred thousand pilgrims of today flock annually to imbibe something of the spirit of martyrdom so sorely needed today and to receive some of the spiritual and bodily cures reported so often there through the intercession of the Jesuit Martyrs, declared in 1940 Patrons of Canada with St. Joseph, at the request of the entire Episcopate for Canada.

DANIEL J. HOURIGAN, S.J.

* * *

Attention: Librarians

It sometimes happens that one or other house of the Society, shortly to be discontinued or transferred to a new location, wishes to dispose of all or part of its library. At the same time other houses, newly established, desire to acquire collections of books. In such cases Ours often enter upon negotiations with externs, involving financial loss, because they do not know with whom they might negotiate about the matter within the Society.

Consequently, it seems that we could offer a valuable service to some of Ours, if an information center were to be established with us, the sole function of which would be to advise librarians where opportunities of acquiring or selling such collections of books may be found. If anyone wishes to avail himself of this service, he should acquaint us with his plans. It will be enough to indicate *in a general way* the type of books offered for sale or desired. We shall communicate the collected information to all who apply to us, but negotiations should then be carried on directly between librarians. We propose only to establish the initial contact between them. Letters should be addressed:

Redazione MEMORABILIA
5, Borgo S. Spirito
Roma (Italia)

Translated from MEMORABILIA, S.J.

OBITUARY

FATHER JOHN A. MORGAN

1880-1949

John A. Morgan was born in New York City on October 18, 1880. He attended St. Francis Xavier College there and entered the Society at Frederick on August 14, 1896, more than two months before his sixteenth birthday. Father John H. O'Rourke was master of novices and rector during the four years young Morgan spent at Frederick. In the juniorate he had Father Elder Mullan and Father Raphael O'Connell as professors of poetry and rhetoric.

During the Summer of 1903 Mr. Morgan went to Woodstock for philosophy under Father Henry Casten, Father James Dawson and Father Timothy Brosnahan. After the then customary five years of regency, he returned to Woodstock for divinity studies under Father Walter Drum, Father William Duane, Father Timothy Barrett, Father Henry Casten, Father Joseph Woods and Father Hector Papi. Father Burchard Villiger and Father William Brett were rectors of Woodstock during his philosophy course and Father Anthony Maas, while he was a theologian. Father Morgan was ordained by Cardinal Gibbons on July 30, 1911 and made his tertianship at Poughkeepsie under Father Thomas Gannon, 1913-1914. He pronounced his last vows as a Jesuit on August 15, 1922.

John Morgan's active years as a Jesuit were divided between the classroom and the ministry. He taught for five years as a Scholastic in Boston College, Holy Cross, and Fordham and for five years as a priest at Holy Cross, Brooklyn, and Boston College. As a Scholastic, except for one year of poetry, he taught high school classes. As a priest he was professor of rhetoric. When in 1918 he was taken from the classroom by his superiors it was somewhat of a surprise to many. He had been an excellent teacher, able to command progress and affection from his pupils. But it proved a wise change since Father Morgan was to do his real work in the thirty-one years of his ministry.

After a year as chaplain in the City Hospital at Boston, Father Morgan spent the rest of his life as operarius and retreat master; seventeen years in Philadelphia, five in Baltimore, four in New York City, three at Inisfada and one at Guelph, Ontario.

In the ministry Father Morgan's outstanding characteristic was his zeal. It drove him, as it did St. Paul, from the time of his ordination to his death. To parish and retreat work he gave himself wholeheartedly from the very beginning: preaching, hearing confessions, directing sodalities, instructing individuals and groups, interviewing those in distress, those seeking enlightenment, and those who aspired to greater holiness, giving missions and retreats to all classes. These were so many ways of showing his deep interest in God's children who sought his assistance.

God had fitted him well for his work. He had a heart brimming over with affection. He had a voice that responded to every shade of emotion. His sympathy with those in need or in sorrow tempered his exposition of revealed truth with gentle kindness although his clarity of mind made him uncompromising in his appreciation of ideals.

There was a marked individuality in his thought, for he was never content to repeat what others had said before him; and his words took on new color with each new audience. He was not perhaps a great orator but he was a most convincing and appealing talker. This was evidenced by the fact that in whatever city he labored crowds pressed about him and never seemed to tire of listening to him. One instance of this is furnished by the Working Girls Sodality at Willing's Alley in Philadelphia. Week after week for years, with great inconvenience to themselves, these sodalists crowded St. Joseph's Church.

There was another thing about Father Morgan's ministry which added to its appeal. He was sincerely humble and had a very poor opinion of his fitness. This took away from his preaching anything like aggressiveness and gave just enough of a suggestion of hesitancy and diffidence to disarm criticism and conciliate his audience. It also gave a distinct charm to his message.

The most striking thing, however, about Father Morgan

was his transparent love of souls. His supernatural charity was reinforced by natural affection. He liked people. They were God's beloved children and his brethren. It was easy for him, therefore, not only to translate his love for God into love of his neighbor for God's sake but also to love them for themselves.

Father Morgan had an ardent personal love for Christ and since Christ loved souls, he was tireless in his efforts to bring men to his Master. Some idea of the courage of his ministry may be gained from events at its beginning and end. As chaplain in Boston City Hospital during the Spanish influenza epidemic in 1918-1919 he was night and day at the bedside of the victims with never a thought of his personal risk. Those who witnessed his devotion were amazed that he did not contract the disease. In the Summer of 1949 he went to Nova Scotia to give retreats to priests and religious and intended to press on and preach to the fishermen of Labrador. He set out on this final mission fully conscious that the touch of death was on him. Those privileged to listen to his message that year were also well aware that their retreat master was on the brink of the grave. The result was that he impressed them most profoundly.

Divine Providence is a mysterious thing and is not conditioned by the little minds of men. God's designs on His children are transcendent and, since soul differs from soul, He leads them to heaven by different ways. Some souls are led along sheltered, sunlit paths. They are given vivid faith, happy dispositions, deep convictions, strong wills. They are shielded from severe temptations. Their smiles seem to reflect God's blessed smile all the days of their lives. Others must walk along trails that are deep in shadows, they must be content with the cold light of truth, they must struggle with difficulties, glory in their infirmities and be satisfied with the measure of divine grace that is sufficient for them. If they smile it must be through their tears. This latter road is reserved for strong souls, and this was the way along which God led Father Morgan.

His greatest trial was, no doubt, that he had little of the joy of faith. He had to accept the truths of revelation solely on the word of God. This of course is true of all Christians.

But to many it is given to be so intimately aware of the divine presence that they seem to walk hand in hand with God most of the time. They are so deeply conscious of God's love for them that a supernatural glow of happiness is almost always theirs. The graces they receive so illumine and inspire their souls that they are seldom, if ever, aware of the encircling gloom. Desolation is an occasional incident in their lives; consolation is their daily bread.

It was not so with Father Morgan. God did not treat him as a child, but as a veteran, inured to hardship. He believed with a cold belief and had to be content to know and to do what God commanded. This was hard, it demanded heroism, but it purified his love, making it all for God and quite unselfish. And yet Father Morgan was able to make the faith bright and attractive for others. No one but God knows how many there were for whom he lifted the veil and to whom he brought home how sweet a thing it is to love the Lord. It was this divine gift which brought so many to him to be enlightened, which made his confessional so popular, which attracted crowds to his discourses, which made the faithful eager to seek his counsel, and which so filled his days that for him sufficient rest was an unknown luxury and fatigue his almost constant companion.

Another difficulty in Father Morgan's life was his lack of worldly wisdom. God left him with this disability—if it can rightly be so called—for his purification in the crucible of pain. He possessed the simplicity of the dove but lacked something of the wisdom of the serpent.

He had so absorbing a love for God and was so single-minded in his love of souls that he, at times, rushed in where others would have hesitated or turned back. Had he been more gifted with discretion, he would not have found himself in situations which he had not foreseen and which caused embarrassment to himself and others. But he was so sensitive and responsive to the needs of others, and at the same time so conscious of the absolute purity of his own intentions that he sometimes forgot the courtesy due to chanceries, which others would have remembered, partly perhaps out of motives of personal security. Souls needed help and he hastened to give it, where others would have paused and asked advice, and so

not left themselves open to misunderstanding. As a consequence he several times incurred the displeasure of ecclesiastical authority and was severely treated. This was, of course, to be regretted but God permitted it for Father Morgan's chastening, and it was a consequence of his burning zeal. It caused him great humiliation and pain. But his superiors understood him and merely transferred him to other fields of labor.*

Another source of pain in Father Morgan's life was his constant sense of unworthiness. Few priests of his day influenced religious and lay persons more profoundly than he did. Wherever he went his ardent love for Christ and his desire to bring others to love Him, affected deeply and permanently those who listened to him. He was endowed by God most generously with apostolic gifts. All this should normally have been a source of great consolation. It rather humiliated Father Morgan. He was tireless in his zeal but he felt that he was doing little for Christ. He was greatly and gratefully loved by those to whom he ministered and yet he had an acute sense of loneliness. He was well thought of and admired and his help was assiduously sought, but he lived a hidden life that had few compensations.

Father Morgan's frank expression of this sense of unworthiness was at times very embarrassing to others. An example in point was the speech he made on the occasion of his golden jubilee. About him were gathered his devoted friends. These, it may be noted in passing, were few in number. This was, perhaps, not strange since his aim was to be all to all men. But these few friendships were marked by true loyalty. At his golden jubilee dinner his friends praised him for the noble servant of God that they knew him to be. His reply was first a profession of deep gratitude to his earthly mother, to his beloved Society, and to the Church—all of whom, he

*Some may be surprised that this subject is discussed within the narrow confines of an obituary. It was thought, however, that the only way to avoid a trite and almost meaningless eulogy was to include some mention of the fact. The treatment accorded Father Morgan shows the loving kindness of superiors and their patience. It should serve as a warning to Ours that at all times due consideration must be given to diocesan authorities, no matter what the merits of the case may be thought to be. The Editor.

said, had loved him, cared for him, put up with him, protected him, kept him safe. Then he made a humble avowal of his utter uselessness as he conceived it. He expressed his wonder that, in spite of what he felt himself to be, he was still loved and had long been loved and dearly loved by his mother, by the Society of Jesus, and by God Himself. His sincerity wrung the hearts of his hearers. It was a soul-searing experience that no one who heard it will ever forget. It was something in the nature of a general confession made on the threshold of death. It was the cry of a noble heart literally plunged in humility.

Father Morgan's death was like his life. Stricken while preaching in Nova Scotia, he submitted to medical examination which showed that he was far gone with cancer. He was brought by plane to St. Vincent's Hospital in New York City, where his case was pronounced hopeless. He himself realized that his days were numbered. God had made his last appeal for souls through him and was now summoning the exhausted priest, tired at last unto death, to rest from his labors and make ready to go home. Father Morgan was neither surprised nor reluctant. God had taken from him one by one most of the things that the heart of man loves, and now was asking the sacrifice of what man loves most, his life. Father Morgan made his sacrifice gladly. Those who visited him found him cheerful, more cheerful than in his days of health. It seemed as if the radiance of God's smile had at last broken through the clouds.

There was only one thing, apart from his conformity to God's Will, that Father Morgan could still do for the glory of the Divine Master to whom he had given himself more than half a century before. He could still with extreme difficulty say Mass. Every morning he rose from his bed of suffering, forced his body, in spite of increasing weakness, to the chapel and said his *Introibo*. He no longer wondered if this was to be the last time he would celebrate that particular feast. He knew that very soon he would say his last Mass. At times, perhaps, he wondered how he could, even in heaven, reconcile himself to the fact that he could no longer offer the Holy Sacrifice. He knew theology's answer, but the Mass had been his life, the very beat of his heart, the breath of his lungs.

FATHER FRANCIS X. BIMANSKI

At last there came a day when from the altar he returned utterly exhausted to his room. With sadness in his voice, he said to the nun in attendance, "Sister, I have said my last Mass. Tomorrow I shall go." On the morrow, September 30, 1949, he died. May he rest in peace.

J. Harding Fisher, S.J.

FATHER FRANCIS XAVIER BIMANSKI

1871-1952

An era in the annals of Cook County Hospital, Chicago, has ended. Father Bimanski, referred to by a fellow chaplain as "Cook County's Corporal of Christ", is dead.

Father Francis Xavier Bimanski (Buman) was born in Sion, Switzerland, April 2, 1871 and entered the Society at the novitiate in Blyenbeck, Holland, November 23, 1889. The saintly novice master, Father Maurice Meschler, greeted him at the door. Under this skilled master of the spiritual life, he laid the solid spiritual foundation that was to carry him through over sixty-two years of fruitful labor in the Society of Jesus. His juniorate was made at Wijnandsrade, followed by two years of philosophy at Exaten and one at the newly opened philosophate at Valkenburg.

After a brief term of teaching at the Collegium Dei Nobili at Cremona, he came to America and taught for five years at St. Ignatius College, Cleveland. His theological studies were made at Valkenburg and Cracow, Poland, where he was ordained priest by Bishop Novak on April 17, 1904.

Returning to America he was assigned to the Polish Mission Band and spent ten years in that work. Early in 1914 he was assigned as chaplain at Cook County Hospital, Chicago.

On February 5, 1914 Father Bimanski began his work at the hospital, a work that was to continue until his death thirty-eight years later. During all these years he labored day and night, scarcely missing a day, and ministered to thousands of all races, colors, and tongues. A gifted linguist, he was able to care for many poor immigrants at the hospital and he endeared himself to all by his cheerful, patient, and sympathetic

ways. He arranged his work so that it would not conflict with the work of the doctors or nurses. His understanding of the demands and restrictions on the time of both patients and hospital personnel was absolute and complete and he governed his own time accordingly.

The tuberculosis patients were the object of his special attention. Even on days when he would have been free from hospital work he always paid a visit to the tuberculosis hospital. Entertainment for his beloved tuberculosis patients was arranged every Monday evening.

Father Bimanski showed great tact and diplomacy in arranging for a chapel when the former chapel building was demolished. Through his efforts a large spare room was acquired in the main hospital building. With the aid of religious and lay friends he was able to equip the chapel. And for years now Mass has been said daily in the hospital where there is a regular schedule of Sunday Masses for the hospital personnel and such patients as are able to attend. Due to community use of the present chapel by some of the Protestant denominations, it is a great tribute to Father Bimanski's quiet diplomacy that proper respect for the Catholic altar has been obtained from all who used the chapel.

Father Bimanski used his gifts as a linguist to good advantage. He was the author of several pamphlets to assist the hospital staff. His *Polish for the Clinic* saw four editions and was advertised in the medical journals of Chicago and New York. All the city hospitals received copies, and even the United States Army did not want to be forgotten. Father received hundreds of letters from doctors throughout the nation asking for copies of this pamphlet and others like it in Italian, Lithuanian, and Bohemian. His pamphlets for nurses, *Reminders* and *Ideal Nurse,* went into several editions. He also published *Helps for Chaplains.* These writings were the fruit of his work at County Hospital.

On two occasions Cardinal Stritch personally congratulated Father Bimanski for his work at the hospital. On November 22, 1940 His Eminence wrote: "I have read closely your report on the work of the Catholic chaplains at Cook County Hospital for the year 1939. I want to say to you that this report edified me greatly for it shows intelligent, pious, priestly work for the salvation of souls . . . These patients for the most part

are poor and among them are many of our weak and wayward sheep. I do not know of anything that I want better done in my archdiocese than the care of these souls of my flock." In February, 1923 the late Father General Ledochowski, who had once been his provincial, wrote a personal letter to Father highly commending him for his work as chaplain.

In 1918 Father Bimanski began his hobby of repairing watches and clocks to relieve the tedium of his hospital work. At first he met with opposition from the trade but by his firm and patient persistence he overcame all resistance. And in time some of the best horologists in the nation became his staunch friends. Through friends thus gained he became a life member of the Horological Institute at Washington, D. C. He was once chosen to give the invocation at a national meeting of horologists in Chicago.

Father Bimanski was deeply devoted to the Society. He practiced the virtues that should adorn a Jesuit life. He loved poverty as a mother and he certainly at times felt its effects. He was content with the barest necessities for his personal use. Strict with himself he was liberal to others. Money given him for carfare and articles of clothing often found their way to others whom he considered to be more needy than himself—a source of privation to himself but often the needed approach to win a soul for Christ. A man of deep piety, he was devoted to Mary and the saints of the Society. He had a good sense of humor; he was humble, cheerful, sincere, reticent about himself, and above all he was always calm and unperturbed. Though he was always busy, he was nevertheless willing to break off his work to lend a helping hand or to give a word of advice. He was always deeply loyal and he demanded loyalty from others. A layman remarked at his wake that Father Bimanski was a man who demanded loyalty and got it because he himself was so loyal. In short he made himself all things to all men.

During the last eight months of life he acted as spiritual father for the St. Ignatius High School community, with whom he lived when he was not on duty at the County Hospital. He labored zealously in the preparation of the monthly conferences to the community. His instructions were brief but to the point—the fruit of long experience and much reflection.

Father Bimanski was stricken while on duty at the County

Hospital on the evening of January 31, 1952. He was at once taken to St. Anthony's Hospital. Everything that medical science could do was done for him. After some weeks in the hospital he was able to return home and he made his annual retreat. But his improvement in health was only temporary. On April 21 he returned to the hospital, but all treatment was in vain. For nearly forty-eight hours before his death, priests from the St. Ignatius community took turns in keeping an almost constant vigil at his bedside. The end came suddenly, though not unexpectedly, on Sunday, April 27—the feast of St. Peter Canisius—just twenty-five days after his eighty-first birthday. The priest in attendance then had barely time to give him a last absolution before his great soul was gone.

Reverend Father Provincial celebrated the funeral Mass in Holy Family Church on April 30—the feast of the Solemnity of St. Joseph. Members of the Cook County Hospital Staff and of the Board of Commissioners acted as honorary pall bearers. Burial was in All Saints Cemetery.

The Board of Commissioners of Cook County passed resolutions of condolence at the passing of the gentle Chaplain who had so influenced the conduct of the affairs of Cook County Hospital. At the instigation of Doctor Karl Meyer, head of the medical staff of Cook County Hospital, Mr. William Steene, a well-known portrait painter, executed a beautiful picture of Father Bimanski. This portrait is to be placed in the library of the new Doctors' Building of the Cook County Hospital.

FREDERICK G. GEHEB, S.J.

* * *

O Lord Jesus Christ, Who didst mercifully grant that the Blessed Virgin Mary, Thy Mother, be the guide of St. Ignatius in the way of sanctity and the Queen and Mother of his family, this blessing we beg of Thee: that all of us who are blessed with her protection here on earth may rejoice in the sight of her glory in heaven. Amen.

—from the Mass of Our Lady, Queen of the Society of Jesus, April 22.

Books of Interest to Ours

COLLEGE RELIGION

Christ as Prophet and King. *By John J. Fernan, S.J.* Syracuse, Le Moyne College, 1952. Pp. xviii-309. $3.50.

Two of the Maryland Province colleges introduced their students to a new religion course in 1941. For a text they used a set of printed but unpublished notes. Catholic educators had been wondering how, in practice, to establish the teaching of religion as the central and unifying course in the college curriculum. To this old problem the proposed plan brought a new approach, based on the acceptable assumption that theology for the laity has a teleology distinct from that of a seminary course. In briefest form this aim has been expressed as the presentation of Catholic truth in such a way that students will deepen their understanding of it as an organic whole, and be impelled to live out intelligently their functions as members of the Mystical Body of Christ. This aim consequently determined the content of the course (in emphasis, at least), the order of presentation, and even the teaching method itself. The student was to make intimate contact with the Person of Jesus Christ: His life, the life He communicated to His Church, the new life He gives to each individual. The approach was historical and heavily scriptural. After the war the experiment was adopted by two more colleges in the Maryland Province and three in the New York Province.

Christ as Prophet and King, a text for Freshman year, appears therefore as the first published manual for this new religion course. The many interested Jesuits who have followed the discussions and successes of this teaching experiment gratefully welcome Father Fernan's contribution. This volume and the other three now in preparation suggest that the new course is established on a desirably permanent and official level in the New York Province.

The text has a four-fold division: an introduction to the gospels, a background to the life of Christ, the public life of Christ (with a chronology and comparative synopsis), and a dogmatic summary of Christology and ecclesiology. Test questions and suggested readings follow many of the chapters.

As Father Fernan indicates in a preliminary acknowledgment, much of the unpublished text of 1941 has been repeated without alteration. It would seem highly significant that after a decade of critical analysis and classroom experimentation the original draft was still judged worthy of almost verbatim incorporation. The additions made to the old text quite naturally prompt a comparative evaluation. One might reasonably conclude these new chapters were the result of some recognized need to round out the Freshman syllabus.

The outline of Jewish history is a valuable addition. The pre-Christian eras are sketched from the time of Adam to the rule of the Roman

procurators in Judea. The chapter on inspiration offers a good synopsis of the fact, nature, extent of inspiration, and so forth.

One might question however the advisability of including a section on the credibility of the gospels. This chapter, dealing with the authenticity, integrity and historicity of the gospels, follows the familiar lines of this tract as it is handled in *De Revelatione*. To a teacher not thoroughly familiar with the precise tone and goal of the entire course, this chapter might imply a definite commitment in favor of an apologetic approach in Freshman year. This implication, I take it, was just as definitely not intended by Father Fernan since such an approach is clearly written out of the statement of objectives. From the student's viewpoint, this section might possibly pose more distracting questions than it can hope to answer.

No review questions are found after the sections on the public life of our Lord. It might be that in the development of the public life, above all, the teacher would profit by very particularized directives in harmony with the general aim of the course.

The dogmatic summaries at the end of the text are clear, thorough, and admirably compact. Critics of the new course have at times voiced fretful doubts about an apparent lack of dogmatic content in the syllabus. Indirectly, but quite convincingly, Father Fernan solves those doubts with his excellent summaries of *De Verbo* and *De Ecclesia*.

The attractive format of this textbook deserves the highest commendation. The neat printing, as well as the generous use of subtitles and italics, make for simplified reading and handy classroom reference.

TERRENCE J. TOLAND, S.J.

SAINTS AND HEROES

The Fire of Francis Xavier. *By Arthur R. McGratty, S.J.* Milwaukee, Bruce, 1952. Pp. viii-295. $4.00.

Pope Pius XI termed St. Francis Xavier not a missionary but an apostle. For "not only did he, by his sweat and toil, convert many barbarous peoples and lead them to a holy life by his own practice of heroic virtue, but he established them most solidly in the Christian faith and opened up to Catholic missionaries vast regions that hitherto had been closed on every side to the preaching of Christianity."

Just how the son of Navarre became the Apostle of the Orient is the subject of Father McGratty's latest work. The problem is stated in this fashion: "How best, then, catch the *stature* of the man? Perhaps, after all, by sensing the *accumulative* effect given by a progress through the successive chapters of that amazing decade Francis spent toiling in the East." Thus, though the biography is chronological, it is not a chronology. Occasional paragraphs of reflection enable the author to search the spirit of the Apostle. In that search one aspect is stressed, Xavier's striving for constancy in his converts. A letter to Rome drops a hint

of the efforts: "Thus, *after many sessions together, and much work,* I put together the prayers. When I had them by memory, I walked through the whole area, ringing my bell, summoning all the boys and men who would come. Thereafter I taught them twice every day for a month." This catechizing, his care for providing priests to carry on his work, and the school for native boys at Goa amply testify to Xavier's appreciation of the aim of the Church's missionary apostolate.

The narration of the work in the Indies is straightforward and clear, with no distractions due to historical controversies. Still, in one instance the reader may wish that the author had mentioned the historical dispute about the death of Yajiro, the first of Francis' Japanese converts. A few months after Francis left Kagoshima, so we read, Yajiro became a river pirate and died in China. Historians also offer a less tragic ending, that after being driven into exile Yajiro was killed by pirates.

Then there is the question of names. Every biographer tackling foreign languages must decide on the transcription of proper names. In the present work they are in general anglicized, a laudable practice indeed. Nevertheless, there are occasional lapses that make, for example, an Antonio here into an Anthony there.

But these minor flaws are more than compensated by the skillful section on Xavier's youth. In many lives of saints the early chapters are hurdles in the path of the story. It is fortunately not so here.

The lively narration and frequent flashes of insight will make Xavier even more widely known and loved than he now is. Although Jesuit readers may find the unsophisticated approach less attractive than that of Father Brodrick's more historical study, they will find the volume fully deserving its place on the ever growing shelf of modern hagiography. It will impress upon ourselves and many others the treasure we have in this brother whose career is "perhaps unique in *any* history of men's endeavor to further a cause."

JAMES J. RUDDICK, S.J.

Saints For Now. *Edited by Clare Boothe Luce.* New York, Sheed and Ward, 1952. Pp. 312. $3.50.

This is a thoroughly admirable, apt, and appetizing book. Anthologies can turn out to be pretty dull affairs, but not this one. According to the jacket-blurb, Clare Boothe Luce asked a score of her friends to do a short essay on a favorite Saint. Mrs. Luce is indeed fortunate in her friends. Fifteen men (only one a priest) and five women (only one a nun) responded with twenty brief biographies or appreciations of eighteen Saints, Francis of Assisi and John of the Cross each having been chosen by two writers. It is usual in speaking of such a group of people, to describe them as *distinguished.* In this case they are. Some of the contributors are celebrated, almost all of them are well-known. They know their Saints, they obviously admire their Saints, they even

understand their Saints. In addition, these people can write, and in the pages of this book they do, to the vast satisfaction of at least one reader. The curse of anthologies is, of course, unevenness. In the present instance the standard of both substance and style is not only high, but extraordinarily level. Incidentally, the lead essay, *Saints*, by Mrs. Luce, explains the objective and title of the book: to compile the brief biographies of a handful of Saints whom contemporary people find a working source of inspiration for the living of contemporary life. As we might expect, this essay is itself superb.

As in all contemporary hagiography, the emphasis in these short lives is not on austerities and marvels but on personality and (so to speak) individual philosophy. Consequently, the Saints treated emerge with clarity and persuasiveness. Even Saints of whom little is known become remarkably real, and those—like Simeon on his pillar whom we neurotic moderns inevitably regard as a bit peculiar—come through, in the end, as reasonable and attractive folk. The work of the distaff contributors is especially fine, particularly the candid study of Augustine by Rebecca West and the perfectly charming life of Hilda of Whitby by that Sister Madeleva who, practically singlehanded, has prevented me and many another distracted male from despairing altogether of contemporary womankind. Among the other essays I particularly liked *St. Helena Empress* by Evelyn Waugh and *St. Simeon Stylites* by George Lamb. I preferred Kate O'Brien's *St. Francis Xavier* to John Farrow's *St. Ignatius Loyola*, but perhaps it is difficult for a Jesuit to be detached on the subject of Ignatius. Bruce Marshall's *The Curé of Ars* I found faintly disappointing, but only because Mr. Marshall deliberately muzzled the mordant satire which I like best in him.

The book is adorned, if that be the proper word, with seven illustrations, the frontispiece representing *Sanctity* or *Saint For Now* (it is called both), and the other six picturing various saints. St. John of the Cross has not only two essays but two illustrations, which may prove something or other. For the most part these *objets d'art* are definitely Illustrations For Now, but they do not hurt the book, nor will they harm the ordinary reader. Just don't let the children get too near them.

VINCENT P. MCCORRY, S.J.

Sea of Glory. *By Francis B. Thornton.* Prentice-Hall, New York, 1953. Pp. 243. $3.00.

While World War II history has been thoroughly covered by Army, Navy, and Air Force histories, the memoirs of leading statesmen, and the biographies of generals, there was a particular incident, devoid of any political significance or real military importance, but one of deep religious meaning, which Father Thornton has recorded for us.

When the old troop ship Dorchester was making her last futile ef-

forts against the sea after being stricken by a German torpedo, four chaplains remained arm in arm on the deck praying. Thirty minutes was the limit of endurance in the icy water of the North Atlantic even with a life jacket, and they had given theirs to soldiers who had been caught without their own. Added significance was given to their act of heroism by the fact that they represented all American faiths, Protestant, Jewish, and Catholic. Secular commentators all over the country were reminded of the text from St. John: "Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends." All had left dearly-loved families for the call of God to serve Him and their fellow men. They volunteered for a great cause and were found acceptable. Their sacrifice was a source of inspiration to the whole nation and to the members of the armed forces in particular. Thanks to Father Thornton's work, it will continue to send its message to younger generations faced with the same problems of service to God and country during war.

FREDERICK J. REISERT, S.J.

LIGHTS FOR NUNS

Listen Sister: Thoughts for Nuns. *By John E. Moffatt, S.J.* New York, McMullen, 1952. Pp. 210. $2.75.

This book, with its modest subtitle, is the fruit of Father Moffatt's many retreats to Sisters both in this country and in Canada. The form in which the author has shaped these thoughts recalls the earlier work of Father Charles and Father Lippert, though, unfortunately, this author possesses neither the grace of style of the former nor the poetry and the profundity of the latter. Nevertheless, if these short essays are read with close and prayerful attention, the thoughts they contain will benefit many Sisters.

The subjects treated follow the round of problems which arise in convent life. Confession, prayer and the distractions which disturb it, presence of God, death, reverence, are all handled here once again but Father Moffatt has generally something new to say which is worth hearing. His chapter on supernatural attractiveness is especially good. Here he cautions Sisters against exploiting their own personalities in the false belief that in this they will bring to God those for whom they work. Americans of the "advertising age" are particularly subject to this illusion and the author firmly but tactfully shows them that this is no way to God but a *cul de sac.*

There is so much that is worthwhile in the book that the reader is saddened to find many half-truths repeated in it which often manage to slip into the armory of spiritual writers who fail to relate their teaching constantly to reality. An example of this "easy thinking" is the frequent evocation of novitiate days as the ideal time to which all religious should strive to return. But if noviceships are characterized by fervor, they represent also a period of physical and spiritual

immaturity. Though, at times, religious do lose their early fervor, it is demanding a psychological impossibility of them to expect them to return to that prior state. They must regain their fervor, of course, but it must now be a deeper and more substantial quality, chastened and matured as they should be by the saddening reality they have glimpsed in their days or years of sloth. The spiritual life must always advance even from the pit of tepidity; it cannot be a series of endless returns to an idealized past.

Again, Father Moffatt's treatment of the "rights" of religious leaves much to be desired. He tells his Sisters that they have the "right" to be humble, to be neglected, to be treated with injustice. Well and good, this is a part of the picture. But the other side deserves at least passing mention. The author must surely have heard of convents where *The Review for Religious*, for example, is reserved to the superior in order that subjects may not prove troublesome. The fact remains that the Church and religious constitutions grant real rights to subjects and it is well that they should know them. The number of Canon Law Institutes for religious women held during recent summers testify to a growing awareness of this need. Perhaps these institutes rather than exhortations to meekness will proffer the solution for the troubling number of defections after ten and fifteen years in religion, which has affected some congregations of religious women.

Finally in his treatment of higher studies, Father Moffatt shows a lack of comprehension of the real difficulties involved in graduate work in first-class universities and especially of the burdens which these difficulties impose on religious women. Here his position is always "slanted" negatively. He talks of Sisters "strutting . . . because of the degrees . . . won." These Sisters may "slave" for their degrees but what are their motives? "Well, it *will* set me a bit above my companions." As for their "Ph.D's," Our Lord will "not be awed by that." Unless they are also "Doctors of Sanctity," they will gain nothing substantial from them.

All this is true in part. Sisters, like priests, may become vain over such things. But why is no mention made of the tremendous help these same Sisters give the cause of God literally by their "blood, sweat and tears"? Is the intellectual life essentially opposed to the spiritual life, or does not the problem lie in showing these Sisters how they may become saints by means of, and not in spite of, their learning? We do not all go to heaven along the same road, even though we belong to the same religious congregation. There are other saints in the calendar besides Thérèse of Lisieux, even among women. We should not forget the existence of Catherine of Siena, to say nothing of Theresa of Avila.

The reason why these points have been so sharply made is that, by his restatement of these half-truths, Father Moffatt is repeating a spiritual teaching which needs thorough revaluation. Such "truths" cannot fail to spread a patina of unreality over spiritual endeavor and so make it harder rather than easier for intelligent religious to achieve that which

they long for with all their hearts, the complete dedication of their entire selves to the work their Master has given them to do.

FRANCIS J. MCCOOL, S.J.

PHILOSOPHICAL SPECULATIONS

The Theory of Transfinite Numbers in the Light of the Notion of Potency. Excerpta ex dissertatione ad lauream in Facultate Philosophica Pontificiae Universitatis Gregorianae. *Auctore Clyde J. Elliot, S.J.* Romae, Typis Pontificiae Universitatis Gregorianae, 1952. Pp. 87.

The present thesis is "a critical examination of Cantor's theory from the viewpoint of mathematics and philosophy in order to see whether an actual infinite must be postulated" (p. 14). Hence "the method of this thesis . . . [is] a critical examination of the fundamental notions and theses of the theory of transfinite numbers for the purpose of rejecting the philosophically false base of the actual infinite and substituting in its place the potential infinite" (p. 15). The conclusion is "that the theory of transfinite numbers, far from forcing us to accept the actual infinite, obliges us to retain the potential infinite. It is only through the notion of potency, whose manifold presence we have already pointed out, that the theory of transfinite numbers can be given a satisfactory interpretation" (p. 85).

The present thesis, despite other incidental merits, unfortunately fails to make its central points and succeeds, if at all, only in demolishing a straw-man. This failure results from several basic misconceptions that undermine the entire enterprise. It is of importance therefore to disengage and exhibit these serious misinterpretations.

The author for example alludes to the law of formation, the successive addition of 1, for whole numbers, and then remarks: "the law of formation . . . [is not] sufficient to give us all the individual integers. That law of formation, the successive addition of 1, is an endless process. We are not speaking here of the physical impossibility of writing down all the whole numbers on paper, but of a conceptual impossibility. Even if we were to consider the process in our imagination as going on for millions of years, or even millions of centuries, the process would not be complete nor would all the integers be given. Thus the law of formation which will give us the individual whole numbers, cannot give us *all* these numbers. The numbers must be formed one after another. The process can never be complete. Wherever it is stopped, we have only finite numbers which do not exhaust the possibility of the production of more finite numbers by the same process" (p. 35). The basic confusions here, if not gross, are at least crude. For it is a mistake to suppose that mathematics imposes on individual lay intelligence the presumably arduous task of a personal construction of the number series. It is therefore difficult to take seriously the writer's optimistic proposal that "in place of Cantor's definition we would suggest that a set is a multitude *in fieri* according to a certain law" (p. 36).

Similar misconceptions provoke the important query and reponse: "Is there not then a contradiction in a number greater than all the numbers which have no greatest? It seems so to us because we believe that the totality of whole numbers can never be completely exhibited. The impossibility of actuating *all* the individual whole numbers is not due to a weakness of our intellect but to the nature of the number series itself. Its actuation is always a *fieri* which contains a further potentiality that can never be completely actuated . . . This is the reason why we see only illusion in what Cantor calls the region of numbers 'outside the endless number series 1, 2, 3, . . .'" (p. 46). But Cantor is both precise and clear on the subject, while the author is seriously confused. For it is a confusion to identify as synonymous "whole" and "bounded whole." For there very well may be a whole that is very properly without one or more appropriate bounds. Cantor thus correctly distinguishes an endless set from a set in general. For a set may or may not have terms and hence last members. And it is therefore no contradiction, nor even the semblance of one, to maintain that (1) the set of all natural numbers does not contain a greatest and thus last integer, and yet (2) it is whole, entire, integral, and complete. For all the natural numbers are comprised within it, no natural number is omitted from its embrace, all of its elements are natural numbers, and there is no element in it which is not a natural number.

Father Elliot moreover strives to make clear just where and why he undertakes to differ from Cantor. For [for Cantor] "it was sufficient to give a definition of such a [transfinite] number that would make it determinate and would so establish its relationship with other numbers that there would be a clear distinction between them. But we require a contact with reality to ensure the objectivity of our concepts. If there is no such contact, the concepts developed have a purely speculative interest and cannot serve for practical applications. Such applications are only possible when the conditions assumed by the definition are fulfilled. Such, for example, is the case of the non-Euclidean geometries which are true for the type of space presupposed by the initial postulates and not for the ordinary space which is Euclidean" (pp. 46-47). Here the baleful effects of interpreting mathematics as the reflective study of *ens quantum* in the second degree of formal abstraction take their full and relentless toll. The orientation here is hopelessly erroneous. For the traditional mystery within Scholasticism concerning the application of mathematics to physics is solved without residue by isomorphism, not abstraction. A mathematical physics is possible if, and only if, when, and so far as there just happens to be an identity of relational structure amid a disparity of relations and *relata*. Such isomorphism is no surrender to a reprehensible subjectivism in epistemology. For it leaves empirical knowledge as objective as a responsible realist could demand without the necessity of denaturing mathematics from its native function as a purely speculative science of relations or of order. And in particular there are not any different types of space. There are only different metrics which give rise to the misnamed non-Euclidean geometries. It is therefore impossible to heed with serious intent the author's remark that

"with regard to their objective practical value, they [transfinite numbers] are indeterminate signposts in an illusory space" (p. 48).

And it is simply a major mistake of fatal proportions to report that "the process of counting or numbering is used to determine whether two sets are equivalent or not, that is, whether they have the same power or not. Thus Cantor writes: 'We say that two aggregates *M* and *N* are "equivalent" . . . if it is possible to put them, by some law, in such a relation to one another that to every element of each one of them corresponds one and only one element of the other' " (p. 48). I respectfully submit that the quotation from Cantor does not warrant the interpretation here given to its content.

Nor is it to any purpose to present Cantor's neat and profound distinction between *Realität* [*Entität*] and *Zahl* and then to conclude that "one thing is clear enough and that is that he admits that there are more elements in one set [of all whole numbers] than in the other [of only even numbers]. With this admission the long-accepted principle about the whole and the part remains secure" (p. 52). But such comfort, although obtainable in other ways, is here counterfeit, because grounded on a confusion. It was clear to Cantor, as it was to Aquinas in his own way (*Summa theologica* 3. 10. 3. 3), and in fact still is to many discerning persons, that (1) although the set of all natural numbers is *somehow* more rich in elements than the set of all (but only) the even numbers, (2) its cardinal power or number is identically the same. This precious insight is proof enough that one must get accustomed to the sharp and significant distinction between (a) numerically greater, and (b) entitatively, ontologically, superior, richer, or "greater." For it is a mistake to suppose that the purely incidental coincidence of entity and number, familiarly associated with finite sets, is a general metaphysical law that rules all sets of elements without qualification.

It is moreover not improbable that many serious students of Cantor will construe as an impertinence the remark that "it is impossible, even conceptually, to have the totality of the natural numbers in all their individuality. The concept derived from that set must reflect the nature of the set. If there is an inexhaustive potentiality in that set, our mind would do violence to the objective nature of that set in conceiving it as completely actuated in all its individual elements. Our mind does not form concepts in this violent way. When A_0 [Cantor's first transfinite cardinal power] is defined as the concept corresponding to this set given in its totality, that definition is not a naturally formed concept but an artificial creation of a mind that has not carefully examined the object it would define" (p. 58). It would indeed be violence to intelligence to conceive the *last* element in an *endless* collection. But it is also a regrettable type of intellectual violence to maintain that an *endless* set cannot be whole, integral, entire and complete by adequate and determinate definitional construction.

And if it be correct to argue that "if A_0 is the mental representation of the set of whole numbers, it must represent that set as it is objectively, that is, with its potentiality" (p. 59), it is surely a misconception of Cantor's exquisite theory to construe A_0 as "the mental representation of

the set of whole numbers," and an error of fundamental proportions to regard that set "as it is objectively, that is, with its potentiality." And one may honestly ask the author: if "we cannot concede that the concept of the totality of the number series which would include within itself all the natural numbers and yet leave room for the formation of other numbers, is a true concept, conformed to the true reality of our number system" (pp. 83-84), then what numbers, please, are not included in that set?

In conclusion one may note (1) that in traditional Aristotelian-Thomistic metaphysics act and potency are indispensable and indissoluble correlatives, so that (2) the "potential infinite" becomes *meaningless* in a system where the "actual infinite" (in magnitude or multitude) is contradictory and unreal. It is impossible therefore to agree with the author that "the theory of transfinite numbers, far from forcing us to accept the actual infinite, obliges us to retain the potential infinite" (p. 85). There is a deplorable *ignoratio elenchi* here. For the real issue is *not* between an actual infinite multitude and a potential infinite multitude, but as Cantor saw and was at great pains to make perspicuously clear, between the actual finite and the actual transfinite.

JOSEPH T. CLARK, S.J.

CHRISTMAS THE WORLD ROUND

The Christmas Book. *By Francis X. Weiser, S.J.* New York, Harcourt, Brace, 1952. Pp. 188. $3.00.

This collection of Christmas customs is not only a little cyclopedia on the subject but an inspiring testament to the faith of Christian peoples of each age. Written in a delightfully easy style, the book almost belies the patient research that had to go into its making. Since there is nothing like it in English, the book deserves wide circulation and may be used very effectively by priests in lectures and sermons to reveal the religious origins of our most treasured Nativity festivities.

"All the countries which have no more legends will be condemned to die of cold," wrote a poet of our time. It is interesting to note how each national genius has created traditions from its inner warmth (and how sadly true are the poet's words of the Puritans who tried to kill the legends). The simple piety of the poor whether in the Ukraine or the Tyrol enlisted whatever mid-winter material they had to welcome the Infant King. Drama, liturgy, song, vegetation, light, even so domestic a thing as pastry are all given a Christmas flavor that enriches them and us. Many people would be surprised to learn that there is a religious significance to the Christmas tree, the poinsettia, mistletoe, holly, candles, cookies and the exchange of presents. Father Weiser has told the story of all these and many more in neatly arranged chapters.

NICHOLAS J. CARROLL, S.J.

Practice: A Pool of Teaching Experience. *Edited by Rudolph J. Knoepfle, S.J.* Chicago, Loyola University Press, 1952. Pp. 354. $2.50.

Monotony is the curse of every profession but nowhere is it more noticeable and disastrous than in the teacher's trade. *Practice* with its 245 successful teaching techniques and methods is designed to help the harassed teacher who anxiously seeks to inject the tonic of variety into his work. Father Knoepfle, the founder of the quarterly, *Practice*, has edited this present volume which represents contributions from 175 Jesuits.

The various subjects and the number of articles devoted to each are arranged in the following order: English (80), public speaking (15), Latin and Greek (55), religion (13), social sciences (21), physical sciences (18), classroom procedure (43). Since English teachers are most vocal on the throes of the rut, the preponderance of articles on English should not be surprising. Most engaging of all the suggestions are the ones which help the student read a deeper meaning into the accepted routine of ordinary life, e.g. having a definite point of view when he peruses the sports page, or glances at an editorial, or studies a *Saturday Evening Post* cover, or watches television. Effecting an integration between class work and life cannot fail to be appealing. The majority of the teaching techniques, however, concerns an effective method of presenting grammar rules, conducting reviews (always a problem), correcting homework, promoting *concertationes.*

Only thirteen articles deal directly with the teaching of religion. This summary treatment seems to reflect the general lack of vitality in the teaching of religion on the high school level. Perhaps the curriculum is at fault. However, the dearth of articles on the formal teaching of religion is offset in part by the numerous suggestions involving the natural introduction of spiritual topics in the secular subjects.

Easy reading might be the characteristic mark of this book. The authors of the articles write clearly and succinctly, sometimes humorously, but almost always manifesting fine psychological insight. Other welcome features include tasteful illustrations, intelligent organization, a comprehensive book list for students of the classics, and a complete index.

The veteran teacher, eager to conduct stimulating classes, would consider the effort well worth while if a thorough perusal of *Practice* yielded only one helpful idea. He should find many.

EDWARD F. MALONEY, S.J.

Be Not Solicitous. *Edited by Maisie Ward.* New York, Sheed & Ward, 1953. Pp. 254. $3.00.

Be Not Solicitous is a refreshing series of essays by thirteen very refreshing people, mothers and fathers of families, with but one exception, who have been willing to accept Christ's invitation to put aside

solicitude for the things of this world in order to seek more surely the kingdom of heaven. In her introductory essay Maisie Ward tells us "the theme of this book is God's Providence in relation to Catholic families who put their trust in Him." Because trust in God is a most fruitful virtue, the essays indicate the high spirituality which can be found in Catholic family life and which is actually found in the ordinary lives of these most ordinary people who have found the secret for most extraordinary living. That secret is abandonment to the will of God.

"The case for abandonment is this. . . . It solves the whole complex problem of human existence at one stroke. He who lives in absolute abandonment to the will of God shares in the power and wisdom of God. He can know or do anything God wills him to do. . . . Superficially nothing is changed. . . . Substantially God has taken over (p. 88)."

The constant insistence that Christian family life is the indispensable means for the survival of our Christian faith and culture is another theme which receives almost equal treatment with the main theme of the essays. Christopher Dawson has written: "If the Catholic theory of society is true, the supersession of the family means not progress, but the death of society, the end of our age, and the passing of European civilization." It is a message which is very timely today. It recalls Abbé Michonneau's plea for the Christianization of the family as a family rather than of its members as members, even of its children, because it has not always been true that when the Church won the young, she also secured the next generation. The young must live in the bosom of the family and if this is shallow or thorny soil, the good seed will be choked and die. Editor Ward tells us:

"Somehow we must get back to conceiving the family, not the individual, as the unit . . . it is too easy for propaganda, for waves of enthusiasm, to sweep off their feet masses of the young. . . . The absolutely necessary counterweight must be found in the family, in the balance it gives between generations, in its possession of treasures of wisdom and tradition. . . . (Pp. 10-11)."

The future of the Christian family would indeed be secure if it could be entrusted to people like the authors of this collection.

The essays themselves treat a variety of subjects. While indicating the rôle trust in God should play in Catholic life, they show us the relationship that is possible between family life and poverty, spirituality, the apostolate, and community in the Mystical Body. Of special interest are the essays entitled "Abandonment," "Marriage and Spirituality," "The Joy of Poverty," and "An Interracial Catholic Marriage."

JOHN J. MCCONNELL, S.J.

Stappenbeck Bookbindery
BOUND
FEB 2 1954
Bloomington, Illinois